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NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 15

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH
NOVEMBER 20-21, 1913

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State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH
NOVEMBER 20-21, 1913

Compiled by
R. D. W. CONNOR
Secretary

RALEIGH, N. C.
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1913

The North Carolina Historical Commission

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W. J. Peele, Raleigh.

D. H. Hill, Raleigh.

Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson.

M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill.

R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

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1913.

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Second Vice-President .....O. W. Blacknall, Kittrell.
Third Vice-President .....
Secretary-Treasurer .....R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

Executive Committee.

W. P. Few.
Thomas P. Harrison.
Clarence Poe.
Frank Nash.
Edward K. Graham.
W. K. Boyd.

1914.

President .....Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill.
First Vice-President .....Miss Mary Shannon Smith, Raleigh.
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Secretary-Treasurer .....R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

Executive Committee.

W. K. Boyd.
James F. Royster.
Clarence Poe.
Maurice G. Fulton.
Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp.

PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries;

"The establishment of an historical museum;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and—

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES.

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. There are two classes of members: "Regular Members," paying one dollar a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying five dollars a year.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

(Organized October, 1900.)

Fiscal Years.	*Presidents.*	*Secretaries.*	*Paid up Membership.*
1900-1901	Walter Clark	Alex. J. Feild	150
1901-1902	Henry G. Connor	Alex. J. Feild	139
1902-1903	William Louis Poteat	George S. Fraps	73
1903-1904	C. Alphonso Smith	Clarence Poe	127
1904-1905	Robert W. Winston	Clarence Poe	109
1905-1906	Charles B. Aycock	Clarence Poe	185
1906-1907	W. D. Pruden	Clarence Poe	301
1907-1908	Robert Bingham	Clarence Poe	273
1908-1909	Junius Davis	Clarence Poe	311
1909-1910	Platt D. Walker	Clarence Poe	440
1910-1911	Edward K. Graham	Clarence Poe	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. Connor	Clarence Poe	479
1912-1913	W. P. Few	R. D. W. Connor	476
1913-1914	Archibald Henderson	R. D. W. Connor	**

AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

1905—John Charles McNeill, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad." (Presentation by Theodore Roosevelt.)

1906—Edwin Mims, for "Life of Sidney Lanier." (Presentation by Fabius H. Busbee.)

1907—Kemp Plummer Battle, for "History of the University." (Presentation by Francis D. Winston.)

1908—Samuel A'Court Ashe, "History of North Carolina." (Presentation by Thomas Nelson Page.)

1909—Clarence Poe, for "A Southerner in Europe." (Presentation by Ambassador James Bryce.)

1910—R. D. W. Connor, for "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History." (Presentation by T. W. Bickett.)

1911—Archibald Henderson, for "Bernard Shaw." (Presentation by Lee S. Overman.)

1912—Clarence Poe, for "Where Half the World is Waking Up." (Presentation by Walter H. Page.)

1913—Horace Kephart, for "Our Southern Highlanders." (Presentation by Maurice G. Fulton.)

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE—SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT.

1. Rural school libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statue in Statuary Hall (to be erected soon).
5. Fire-proof State Library and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battlefields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. The Patterson Memorial Cup.
9. Lecture Extension Work started in leading cities and towns.
10. A program of Library Extension Work begun.

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PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

Raleigh, November 20-21, 1913

EVENING SESSION, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

The fourteenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was called to order in the auditorium of Meredith College on Thursday evening, November 20, 1913, at 8 p. m., by President William Preston Few.

President Few delivered his inaugural address as President, his subject being "The Value of Literature in an Industrial Society."

At the conclusion of his address the President stated that it had been customary for the Association at each of its annual sessions to have an address from some native North Carolinian who had attained distinction in some other State. Among the native Carolinians, then residents of other States, who had addressed the Association in the past, he mentioned Hon. Hannis Taylor, formerly American Minister to Spain, Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, formerly Roosevelt Professor in the University of Berlin, and Hon. Walter H. Page, editor of "The World's Work," now American Ambassador to the Court of St. James. President Few then presented Dr. Herman Harrell Horne, a native of Johnston County, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, now Professor of the History of Education and Philosophy in the University of New York, and distinguished as a lecturer and writer on philosophy and education. Dr. Horne addressed the Association on "A New Method of Historical Investigation."

Following Dr. Horne's address was the announcement of the award of the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup," presented each year by the Association to "that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September the first of the previous year to September the first of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, the greatest excellence and highest literary skill and genius." President

Few stated that Dr. Maurice G. Fulton, of Davidson College, would present the cup on behalf of the Association.

In announcing the award Dr. Fulton said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am sure that my audience will think that I shall best discharge my duty upon this occasion if I confine my remarks to the briefest possible compass. The Patterson Cup, I may say by way of explanation, is given annually for the best piece of literary work by a resident of the State of North Carolina. The committee in charge of the award is composed of the President of the State Literary and Historical Society, the Professor of History in the University, the Professor of History in Trinity, the Professor of English Literature in the University, the Professor of English Literature in the A. and M., the Professor of English Literature in Davidson, and the Professor of English Literature in Wake Forest. Since the establishment of the Cup eight years ago by Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson of Winston-Salem, as a memorial to her distinguished father, it has become, through its award to such of our fellow citizens as McNeill, Mims, Battle, Ashe, Poe, Connor, Henderson, and Poe for the second time, understood to be the highest honor bestowed in our State upon such of her sons and daughters as seek to add glory to themselves and to their State in the field of letters. Most assuredly our appreciation of what Mrs. Patterson has done among us for the encouragement of a creative literary spirit and a sense for true art becomes as the years pass by not less but deeper.

In the past those who have been distinguished by the award of the Patterson Cup have been known to us. They have been native North Carolinians, I believe, with the single exception of Mims, and he had been of us so long that we thought of him as one of us. I am glad that such has been the history of the Cup because it seems to me to contradict a statement heard sometimes in certain quarters concerning North Carolina: that she has given so freely of her gifted children to the intellectual life of other States that she has impoverished herself. The history of the Patterson Cup challenges such an opinion. But this year the Cup goes, not to one who has been among us from his youth up, but to one who has but recently come hither, to one who will be a stranger even by name to most of you. It is therefore becoming that I should introduce him to his fellow North Carolinians with some account of his career.

Nine years ago he came among us, but chose to come so quietly and to live so retiredly that not until this fall did we know that he was here. He had been born in another of the thirteen original commonwealths—the Keystone State; he had tarried for awhile in the east and the middle west; he had seen the life of the old countries of Europe before he came to this State and took up his abode in that strange and fascinating westward part of our State, a part of that unique mountain section of our country, which he delights to call Appalachia. There were several reasons for his coming. In the first place, he was a man with an inborn love of the romantic and the wild, and he yearned for a strange land and a people that had the charm of originality. Furthermore, he had a passion for early American history, and he thought to see for himself among the backward people of Appalachia what life must have been among our pioneer ancestors. In addition to

these motives, he wanted to enjoy the free life of the open, matching his woodcraft against the forces of Nature. And so he came into far-away Swain County under the shadow of the Great Smoky Mountains and settled himself in an abandoned cabin on the Little Fork of Sugar Fork of Hazel Creek, where for three years he lived alone in the pursuit of those purposes that brought him thither. In subsequent years he has lived here and there among the mountains.

Thus he came among us, and has lived among our mountain folk until he knows them and their ways most intimately. He has not merely paid them casual visits, but he has lived among them as one of them. He has eaten with them, he has slept with them, he has hunted with them, he has aided them in times of illness or injury, he has been with them in various crises of their lives, and living thus intimately with them he has been able to pierce their mask of reserve until he knows the mountaineer even better than the mountaineer knows himself.

Out of this experience has come a book written with the purpose of bringing the outside world into better report with these "castaways of our sea of mountains." Viewing them sympathetically upon a background of knowledge of our early historical conditions, he has given us a picture of this group of our population that is characterized by the soundest sense and the keenest suggestiveness. In his book he paints the mountaineer not sensationally, not sentimentally, but as he is, showing the shadows as well as the high lights. On the whole, it is a picture to excite admiration and good hope, and we feel as we read the book the call to us of the plains not to let such sterling qualities of manliness, that our nation can ill afford to lose, go to waste, but to give ourselves readily to their conservation and development. Truly a book of great service not merely to us who live in a State which embraces a large portion of this people, but of service to the whole nation!

And, now, having told you something of the writer and of his book, I must not trespass longer on your impatience for names. Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me pleasure to announce the award of the Patterson Cup for the current year to Mr. Horace Kephart, of Bryson City, on account of his lately published book, "Our Southern Highlanders."

I am confident that you will feel the keenest regret that Mr. Kephart is unable to be here and receive the Cup. But he has sent a word of greeting which I am sure you will be glad to hear. In a recent letter to our Secretary he writes:

"My appreciation of this honor is too deep to be easily expressed. It would give me the greatest pleasure to be present at your meeting next Thursday night, to receive the cup in person and meet the members of the Association; but I am confined to the house by illness, and so can only send cordial greetings and thankful acknowledgments. Certainly I shall try to visit Raleigh in future and pay my respects to the officers and members of the Association."

Let us hope that it will not be long before Mr. Kephart comes down among us from his "back of beyond" to show us further what we may do for the development and enlightenment of Appalachia. And when, back among the mountains and their people, he looks upon this Cup, I trust

that it may remind him of the esteem in which we "outlanders" hold his interpretation of the Southern Highlanders.

At the conclusion of Dr. Fulton's remarks, President Few read the following telegram:

W. P. FEW, NEW YORK, N. Y., November 20, 1913.

President State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, N. C.

Accept my best wishes for the success of the fourteenth annual meeting of your splendid Association and my regrets that I can not be present. The Association is doing a great work for North Carolina.

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE.

The President then declared the meeting adjourned.

Following the regular meeting, the members of the Association and their guests attended a reception at the Governor's Mansion.

MORNING SESSION, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

The session was called to order by President Few in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at 11 a. m.

The President presented Hon. Walter A. Montgomery, who read a paper entitled, "The Relations between the Government of the Confederate States of America and the State Government of North Carolina."

Following Judge Montgomery's paper, Dr. J. G. deR. Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina, presented a paper on "The State Convention of 1865."

The President then declared the meeting open for business. It was moved and carried that the President appoint a committee of five to nominate officers for the ensuing year with instructions to report at the evening session. President Few appoint Robert W. Winston, Maurice G. Fulton, W. K. Boyd, Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp, and Henry A. London.

The Secretary then laid before the Association the following report from the Executive Committee:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held November 15, the Secretary was instructed to report to the Association at its coming session the following action of the Executive Committee:

It was moved and carried that a resolution be presented to the Association for consideration at its coming session, inviting the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the North Carolina Sons of the Revolution, and the State Library Association, in the future to hold their annual sessions at the same time and place as the sessions of the State Literary and Historical Association, leaving to each Association the arrangement of its own program.

It was moved and carried that plans be proposed to the Association for consideration at its coming session, looking to the publication, jointly with the North Carolina Historical Commission, of a quarterly journal.

After discussion, it was moved and carried that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the Society of the Sons of the Revolution, the North Carolina Library Association, and other kindred organizations with a view to their holding joint sessions with the State Literary and Historical Association, and to report the result of such conferences at the next session of this Association.

On this committee President Few appointed R. D. W. Connor, Marshall DeLancey Haywood, and Louis R. Wilson.

It was also moved and carried that a committee of three be appointed to look into the advisability of the Association's issuing a quarterly publication in conjuncture with the North Carolina Historical Commission, that said committee should report to the Executive Committee, and that the Executive Committee be given power to act.

The President announced the following appointments to this committee: J. G. deR. Hamilton, Frank Nash, and W. K. Boyd.

The Secretary then laid before the Association a communication from Miss Lida T. Rodman, of Washington, N. C., presenting to the Association photographs of certain pages of the Memorandum Book of Col. Jacob Blount, of Blount Hall, Craven County, 1771, containing interesting references to the battle of Alamance. Miss Rodman's communication was as follows:

EXTRACTS FROM THE MEMORANDUM BOOK OF COLONEL JACOB BLOUNT, 1771.

These pages are from the note-book of Col. Jacob Blount, of Blount Hall, Craven County, dated 1771-73. The book was found with a package of his letters, and another note-book containing entries dated 1764-65-66-67, marked on outside "papers of my father's" and signed "John Gray Blount." The entries are interesting and valuable as they give lists of certain militia companies that served under Governor Tryon at the battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771. Jacob Blount acted as paymaster for the companies mentioned, and he with one, or more, of his sons enlisted and served in that battle.

Colonel Joseph Leech, of Craven County, was in command of these troops. The spirit of Independence had not awakened at the time of the war of the Regulators, and these men who served under Governor Tryon, in 1771, went as Englishmen, upholding the authority of their Sovereign, the King of England.

Page 1, of the photographs, shows the names of the men enlisted in Mr. Blackledge's company. It also shows a partial list of names listed under Captain Johnston's company, April 11, 1771. Page 2 gives Captain Samuel Smyth's company listed by Colonel Cogdell. Page 3 says "Colonel Leech advanced the money. Charles Crawford has received of Colonel Leech 50 pounds to list men."

Page 4 is quite interesting. The heading reads thus: "A memorandum of monies pade to the troops that the Governor ordered for their part of the plonder taken from the Regulators the day the Battle was fought at Grate Alamance, May 16, 1771—Which was 2-6 Each man—" (2 pounds 6 shillings).

Then follows a list of the men so paid, 38 in number. The heading to page 5 is an entry as follows: "Sent to Capt. Holt's 6 Shirts, 2 jackets, 3 prs Briches, 3 prs thread Stockings, 5 Bands, one thread Handerchief, to be washt. May 17, 1771." And on page 7 this entry occurs, "Pade Mr. Holt for washing 6 shillings."

Other entries are, "paid Cogdell for his part for finding his horse; lent Richard Cogdell at the Moraveens Town Six pounds to pay for a mare; June 8th 1771 Pade for milk and butter 2 shillings at—woods then we mounted Quarter. Paid at Hillsborough for one Ham 6s-6d; paid Smyth at Hillsborough for mending my cart."

From these and other entries it is seen that the militia journeyed to Alamance partly on horesback, and that Jacob Blount took his own cart for use of the militia, probably carrying supplies in it. In those days the possessor of a cart or a wagon was fortunate. Wagons were scarce and so difficult to secure that during the Revolution, some years later, wagons had to be brought from Pennsylvania in order to move a lot of clothing from Edenton to the army.

Jacob Blount kept the account, and by order of Governor Tryon acted as paymaster to that part of the expedition. Stops were made, on the return, at Hillsborough, and at Salem, the "Moraveens Town." Captain Holt had some washing done for them, which from the articles specified indicates that they had few, if any, military trappings, but went in their everyday clothes,—jackets, knee breeches, thread stockings, bands (for neck and wrist) and thread handkerchiefs.

Another entry not shown in the photographs shows that guns were scarce. It says "Rec'd field guns from the Governor and let [lent] to the following—Charles Johnson; James Rigba; George Browning; William Archer, James Wigans; Rec'd guns from Mr. Clare and lent them to the following persons—Robert Callahan, George Becton, Thomas Sitgreaves, lent his gun to Mr. Wearn, (?) Rec'd of Longfield 1 gun and lent to Curtas Clemans—Capt. Blount lent his gun to Wm. Murphy, Wm. Cours gun taken from Clemans and lent to Bogay."

Another entry: "Crawford for his part of tent paid 1 pound 3s-4d; Christopher Dawson is to pay for Carroway & E Dawson for their part of tent—2 pounds 6s-8d."

Later Colonel Jacob Blount was appointed paymaster to the North Carolina troops by the Congress at Halifax, April 17, 1776. On February 5, 1777, the Continental Congress "Resolved that 500,000 dollars be advanced to the State of North Carolina upon a warrant from the Governor of the said State for that sum the said State to be accountable." Photograph No. 9 is taken from the original, or a copy, of the warrant on the United States Treasury made to Jacob Blount by Samuel Johnston, Treasurer of the Northern District of North Carolina.

It affords me pleasure to present the photographs of the originals in my possession to the State Literary and Historical Association, and I trust that they may be of interest.

Very cordially,

Lida Tunstall Rodman.

Washington, North Carolina.

It was then moved and carried that the photographs be accepted and the thanks of the Association be tendered to Miss Rodman for them.

The session was then adjourned.

Afternoon Session, Friday, November 21.

The meeting was called to order in the Hall of the House of Representatives by President Few, at 3 p. m. The Secretary announced that Dr. Archibald Henderson, who was to submit a report on "The O. Henry Memorial," had written that he had found it impossible to be present in person at the session, but had sent his report with the request that it be read by the Secretary. Accordingly the Secretary read the report, which was as follows:

THE O. HENRY MEMORIAL.

A REPORT.

The new spirit in North Carolina, giving life and impetus to the intellectual and literary forces in the Commonwealth, finds significant expression in the desire and purpose to erect a memorial to O. Henry, the greatest literary figure in our annals. Such a memorial, erected in the Hall of Literature and History in Raleigh, will serve a double purpose to commemorate the greatest writer of the short-story America has produced since Edgar Allan Poe; and to serve as an incentive to our people to erect memorials to other literary figures in our history who have achieved true art and won the loving appreciation of posterity.

In the effort to raise funds for the memorial to O. Henry (William Sidney Porter), the undersigned, with the sanction and support of the State Literary and Historical Association, on February 4, 1913, made the first appeal to all the members of this Association.

This was followed by an appeal to the North Carolina Society of New York It was felt that this Society had a two-fold interest in O. Henry, first because he was a native North Carolinian, and second because New York was celebrated and interpreted more graphically and more masterfully by O. Henry than by anyone who had preceded him. Under the efficient leadership of the Hon. George Gordon Battle, President of the Society, with the tireless and patriotic assistance of Messrs. Louis Graves and James A. Gwyn, an O. Henry Smoker was held at the Hotel Woodstock on the evening of March 15 last. The principal speakers were Mr. Walter H. Page, present Ambassador to Great Britain; Mr. Richard Duffy, editor of *Ainslee's Magazine;* and Mr. Gelett Burgess, the humorist. As the result of that meeting, and the thorough canvass of the members of the Society afterwards made by Messrs. Graves and Gwyn, more than three hundred dollars ($300.00) was subscribed.

An appeal was next made to the students of the University of North Carolina.

On July 10, 1913, the undersigned, with the coöperation of Dr. W. P. Beall, personal friend of William Sidney Porter, established the O. Henry Memorial Association at Greensboro. Dr. Beall was elected President of the Association, Miss Emma King, of the State Normal College faculty, Secretary, and Mrs. Waldo Porter, Treasurer. Active and enthusiastic in the movement is Mrs. Al Fairbrother. A committee, recently appointed by Dr. Beall, is now preparing to make an active canvass of Greensboro and Guilford County. Greensboro, the birthplace of Porter, may be relied upon to express, in tangible form, its appreciation of the literary genius of O. Henry.

On October 1, 1913, an appeal was made to all the federated women's clubs in North Carolina, as well as to a number of other clubs, men's as well as women's, under the conviction that the memorial to O. Henry represents a cause which should claim the support of every literary club in the State.

Finally, the interest of Mrs. W. S. Porter, the purpose of the undersigned, and the generous instinct of Mr. Norman Hackett met together in an unique way to further the purposes of the memorial. Mr. Hackett is now playing throughout North Carolina a dramatization by Professor Donald Stuart of Princeton University, of O. Henry's story, *A Double-Dyed Deceiver*, under the title *A Double Deceiver*. In conjunction with the local management, Mr. Hackett donates a generous percentage of the gross receipts from each performance in North Carolina to the O. Henry Memorial Fund. This O. Henry Memorial Tour was begun at Greensboro on November 18. Mrs. W. S. Porter, Miss Margaret Porter, and Mrs. James Coleman, came from Asheville to attend this performance. Brief speeches from the stage were made by Mr. Hackett, Dr. Beall, and the undersigned. A delightful play, admirably acted, was greeted by a large, representative, and enthusiastic audience. If representative audiences greet Mr. Hackett in the fourteen places in which he will play in North Carolina, the Memorial Fund will be very materially increased.

Thus far, voluntary contributions to the fund have come almost exclusively from people not residing in North Carolina, but scattered all over the United States. The response from the clubs of the State, it is confidently expected, will be a representative one. It is to the individual, however, that the appeal must now be directed—to the great masses of people who can make small contributions, to the limited few who can make large contributions. The earnest hope is expressed that at this very meeting many contributions will be made to this fund.

Below follows a list of the contributors to November 19, 1913, in the chronological order in which their contributions were made. In addition, a number of promised contributions from individuals and clubs not on the list, are yet to be received.

Julian S. Carr, Durham, $50; E. K. Graham, Chapel Hill, $3; Elizabeth Maxwell Steele Chapter, D. A. R., Salisbury, $10; F. B. Fuller, Durham, $5; Clarence Poe, Raleigh, $5; Thomas H. Battle, Rocky Mount, $2; H. E. Litchford, Raleigh, $2; J. G. Wood, Edenton, $5; J. F. Lanneau, Wake Forest, $1; Mrs. R. R. Cotten, Bruce, $1; H. F. Bahnson, Winston-Salem, $5; K. P. Battle, Jr., Raleigh, $2; Mrs. J. E. Erwin, Morganton, $1; Christian Reid Book

Club, Salisbury, $5; Junius Davis, Wilmington, $5; C. Alphonso Smith, Charlottesville, Va., $5; E. L. Gaither, Mocksville, $5; Mrs. William H. Potter, Boston, Mass., $5; W. W. Vass, Raleigh, $5; Ernest Cruikshank, Raleigh, $2; W. W. Flowers, Durham, $10; J. H. Southgate, Durham, $1; Miss Kate F. Curtis, Lincolnton, $1; I. Allen, Louisburg, $1; Donald F. Ray, Fayetteville, $5; Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp, Raleigh, $2; H. V. Wilson, Chapel Hill, $1; Miss Rebecca Cameron, Hillsboro, $1; Miss Mary McKinlay Nash, Pensacola, Florida, $1; Miss E. A. Colton, Raleigh, $1; J. M. Costner, J. M. Costner, Jr., and Miss F. Costner, Raleigh, $2; John H. Small, Washington, D. C., $5; Heriot Clarkson, Charlotte, $1; Joseph B. Cheshire, Raleigh, $1; Hight C. Moore, Raleigh, $1; Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson, Winston-Salem, $25; N. C. Newbold, Washington, $1; Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Richmond, Va., $20; Mrs. Cornelia A. Norris, Raleigh, $1; C. R. Emry, Weldon, $2.50; cash, Greensboro, $5; George E. Kidder, Wilmington, $1; P. P. Claxton, Washington, D. C., $2.50; W. S. Rankin, Raleigh, $2; O. I. Tillman, Raleigh, $5; Miss Caroline Berry Phelps, Raleigh, $1; W C. Coughenour, Jr., Salisbury, $1; F. C. Toepleman, Henderson, $2.50; A. H. Koonce, Chapel Hill, $1; Jeff McLemore, Houston, Texas, $5; R. H. Lewis, Raleigh, $5; W. C. Hogg, Houston, Texas, $5; Mrs. S. M. Davis, Los Angeles, Cal., $1; A. W Page, New York City, $5; Afternoon Reading Club, Reidsville, $5; Herman Weil, Goldsboro, $50; Paul W. Schenck, Greensboro, $1; K. P. Battle, Chapel Hill, $1; C. J. Harris, Dillsboro, $25; J. D. Bruner, Murfreesboro, $5; A. B. Andrews, Jr., Raleigh, $2; Travelers' Club, Salisbury, $5; Southern Association of College Women, Raleigh Chapter, $5; Mrs. Walter Grimes, Raleigh, $2; Adisco Book Club, Washington, $5; Mrs. R. J. Reynolds, Winston-Salem, $50; North Carolina Society of New York City, as follows: J. B. Cobb, $25; J. B. Duke, $10; B. N. Duke, $10; A. P. Massey, $15; Junius Parker, $15; Joseph Baruch, $12; Geo. Gordon Battle, $10; M. W. Platzek, $10; R. L. Patterson, $10; G. G. Allen, $10; R. A. Springs, $10; W. D. Martin, $10; R. B. Dula, $10; J. R. Williams, $5; Louis Graves, $5; A. P. Hallett, $5; Gilbert Elliott, $5; C. B. Chapman, $5; A. J. Flanner, $2; Q. S. Mills, $2; G. M. Mallett, $2; Albert Durham, $2; J. L. Eskridge, $2; Jefferson Scales, $2; W. E. Crews, $2; J. L. McCumber, $2; V. E. Whitlock, $2; J. D. Goldsberg, $2; St. Clair Hester, $2; J. E. Rice, $2; J. M. Greenfield, Jr., $2; J. Z. Lowe, $2; W. H. Adams, $2; W. H. Pearson, $2; Roy Mason, $2; C. F. Wilson, $2; F. M. Lawrence, $2; A. L. Causee, $2; J. A. Valentine, $2; A. W. Haywood, Jr., $2; Thomas Dixon, $2; Elliott Daingerfield, $2; A. H. Carr, $2; William Hill, $2; J. N. Staples, Jr., $2; J. F. Daly, $2; G. B. Wills, $2; W. A. Burr, $2; E. E. Turlington, $2; J. A. Gwyn, $2; J. C. Leslie, $2; R. H. Graves, $2; J. S. Primrose, $2; O. Henry Smoker, $35; Charles Baskerville, $10; J. H. Parker, $10; T. M. Jones, $2; Students of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, $10.45; John G. Bragaw, Washington, $2; Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Boyden, Salisbury, $5; John Goodrich Clark, Philadelphia, Pa., $10; Eugene Manlove Rhodes, Apalachin, N. Y., $5; J. M. Livingston, Binghampton, N. Y., $2; Shakespeare Club, Oxford, $5; Mrs. Wm. N. Reynolds, Winston-Salem, $15; John Steele Henderson, Salisbury, $10; Woman's Club, New Bern, $10; Pro Re Nata Club, Charlotte, $5; West Raleigh Book Club, Raleigh, $5; Wadesboro Book Club, Wadesboro, $3; Richard Tiddy Book Club, Charlotte, $5;

Athenæ Book Club, Charlotte, $4; Woman's Club, Marion, $2.10; Halcyon Literary Club, Durham, $3.

Total, $716.05.

It is purposed to raise $1,500. In nine months almost half this amount has been raised. It is hoped that the remainder may be raised in a much shorter space of time. The cause, its objects, its progress, the results, have been repeatedly brought to the attention of the people of the State through the medium of the press, always hospitable with space and influence. Mr. Hackett's Memorial Tour will call the attention of many thousands of citizens of this State to the cause and its merits. May the results, in the form of many voluntary individual contributions, justify the hopes of us all.

North Carolina, if she will, may demonstrate to the world and to posterity her appreciation of native genius in the perfect tribute of an enduring memorial to deathless art. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

The President then presented Mr. Henry Jerome Stockard, of Peace Institute, who read a paper entitled "John Henry Boner: An Appreciation."

At the conclusion of Mr. Stockard's paper, Miss Minnie W. Leatherman, Secretary of the North Carolina Library Commission, submitted her report on the "North Carolina Bibliography of the Year."

Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to tender to the President and Trustees of Meredith College the sincere thanks of this Association for their courtesy in placing at the service of the Association, for its evening sessions, the excellent auditorium of Meredith College.

The meeting was then adjourned.

Following this session the Woman's Club of Raleigh tendered a reception to the Association at their club rooms on Salisbury Street.

EVENING SESSION, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

President Few called the meeting to order in the auditorium of Meredith College at 8 o'clock p. m., and announced that the Governor of North Carolina would introduce the speaker of the evening.

Governor Craig declared it his great pleasure to present M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador to the American People, "one of the foremost scholars, literary men and statesmen of his day. By research and native ability, he has written his name by the side of Taine, who wrote the greatest literary history of the English-speaking people. Our guest has produced a literary history of the English people which ranks with Taine's and it is a great pleasure and privilege to introduce him to this audience."

After gracefully acknowledging the Governor's introduction, M. Jusserand addressed the Association on "Rochambeau and the French in America: Why they Came and What they Did."

At the conclusion of the address, the President called for the report of the Nominating Committee, which was submitted by Judge R. W. Winston, the Chairman, as follows:

President .....ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Chapel Hill.
First Vice-President .....MISS MARY SHANNON SMITH, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President .....FRANK NASH, Hillsboro.
Third Vice-President .....W. B. MCKOY, Wilmington.
Secretary-Treasurer .....R. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh.

The nominations were unanimously confirmed and the Fourteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association declared adjourned *sine die*.

The North Carolina Folk-Lore Society

It was a great pleasure to the members of the State Literary and Historical Association to have the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society to hold its second annual session jointly with the State Literary and Historical Association. Following is the program followed by the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society.

FRIDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 21, 1913.

President's Address—James Finch Royster, University of North Carolina.
Paper—"Some Plantation Signs and Wonders," O. W. Blacknall, Kittrell.
Paper—"Unusual Uses of Words," George W. Lay, St. Mary's School.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 21, 1913.

Paper—"The Science of Fairy and Folk Tales," Benjamin Sledd, Wake Forest College.
Paper—"How to Collect and Preserve the Ballads and Folk Songs of North Carolina," Maurice G. Fulton, Davidson College.
Paper—"Ballads and Folk Songs in North Carolina," Collier Cobb, University of North Carolina.
Paper—"The Reading of Various Folk Material, Collected by the Society since the last Meeting."
Business Session—Reports, Election of Officers, etc.

ADDRESSES

The Value of Literature in an Industrial Society

By W. P. Few. President of the State Literary and Historical Association.

When Mr. Walter H. Page, now ambassador to the Court of St. James, a year ago in this place, spoke in behalf of a literary revival and instead of talking about literature at all, made an appeal for the care of our land and the care of our people, his point of view did not fail him. For such a revival can hardly come without first this firm establishment of our people in the sources of sound living. But the intellectual and spiritual alertness necessary to produce or to appreciate literature may not be expected to come to us because we become prosperous, but because through prosperity and hope we may be made alive. Our talent has been dulled by hard circumstances and has gone to waste. We need, as men everywhere need, to be energized and sensitized, to be made keenly alive.

Carlyle called Dante the voice of ten silent centuries singing their mystic, unfathomable song. These long dreary centuries of European history were silent because they had not life enough in them to stir them awake. Soundness of national life always precedes intellectual productivity. The Elizabethan age in England for its intellectual achievement remains the wonder of the modern world, and that, as we all know, was a period that abounded in energy and hope. The men who lived with Shakespeare became poets, as Emerson said, for the air was tame. There was a mighty throb of life in it that stirred the spirits of men awake, and they aspired greatly and achieved greatly. We in this generation are living in the midst of a period which, though it is confused with warring voices, is yet characterized by swift movement, by intellectual daring, by gigantic energy that ought to stir the imagination; and especially in this region that has been so long held in the inertia of an old conservatism ought the rebound to give us a new and strong impulse to live and to aspire and to achieve. We ought to breed a generation of workers, of thinkers, of writers; we ought at last to find a voice for our own silent centuries, with their unuttered pity, their aspirations, their successes, and their defeats. But are we going to be able to know the day of our visitation? Progress and prosperity are good and we can not have too much of them; but we may expect of them what they can never give.

Mr. Page's gospel of care for the man and care for the land has already been and is still being preached to pretty good effect in North Carolina, and he himself has done a good deal of that sort of preaching. The result is that our farmers know more about their business and are better off than ever before. Our prosperity therefore rests upon a firmer and wider basis. And this is at once the cause and effect of a leaven of life that is at work in the State and that is manifesting itself in many ways. For example, we have had and still have popular educational leaders of great significance. The organization of public education goes on apace. Education as an opportunity for every youth has practically been achieved. There is, to be sure, yet ahead of us, as of all America, the stupendous task of improving the tone and quality of all our public education. Our colleges are on the whole the most promising in the Southern States. The influence of our public men is being more and more felt in the United States Senate, in the lower house, in the cabinet, in the diplomatic service, and throughout our national councils. The sober truth is we are now in the midst of a great awakening. It only remains to see to it that this awakening shall have its proper fruitage in intellectual and spiritual release, that our prosperity shall find its use in forming, cheering, and refining our people, and that we shall apply to all phases of our civilization those permanent and universal standards of excellence that have been wrought out through the long experience of the race. In a new country like America which is, so far as the masses of men are concerned, completely devoid of music, painting, and the plastic arts, this culture of the people must come mainly through books. Can books provide the culture of an industrial, democratic society?

Walt Whitman, in *Democratic Vistas,* says of all works of art: "Then, wherever claiming to be first-class works, they are to be strictly and sternly tried by their foundation in and radiation (in the highest sense and always indirectly) of the ethic principles, and eligibility to free, arouse, dilate." Few human beings are sufficiently energized. In the case of most of us our spirits are dull as night, and we live at a poor dying rate. Beset as we are by human limitations, grossly closed in by this muddy vesture of decay, we need most of all to have our souls freed, aroused, dilated. How can literature perform this noble function and so become, not a substitute to be sure, but a handmaid of religion?

In the first place, it is the truth that makes us free. And it is the distilled and essential truth that abides in literature; this is the Attic salt that preserves it. It is this quality in literature that informs and disciplines our sense for beauty and our sense for conduct. In great literature this permanent and universal truth is presented to us in

alluring and compelling forms. Consider for instance what Shakespeare does for us in one of his tragedies. In each of these tragedies he gives us the spectacle of a great man, and one in general good, brought into misery through some defect of his nature, and through his own blindness and weakness made the channel through which runs to others an ever-swelling torrent of unutterable woe. Thus through the feelings of pity and fear these tragedies, in Aristotle's famous phrase, "effect the proper purgation of our passions," and leave us with a quivering sense of the perils and responsibilities of earthly life. In such moments of concentrated and heightened spiritual activity, thus completely freed, aroused, dilated, the mighty heart of all mankind lies still and absorbs the great, elemental, universal moral laws by which we live. But this imaginary spectacle stirs also the heroic in us and fires us to the inordinate hatred of evil and emulation of good. For Shakespeare brings us to find, as he himself had found, in the "splendors of courage and love a remedy for despair."

Aside from the joys that come to us from out ourselves—from health, morality, and usefulness—the mightiest solace to the tired children of the earth comes from nature with all her vast contrivances of charm—her grand procession of the seasons; her seas and lands; the green earth, still young and entrancingly beautiful as when she lay by the sources of time. But what makes the world the vastly interesting thing it is is the fact that it has been the scene of man's life for countless generations. The record of man's experience with the earth is preserved in literature. Literature stands in most intimate relations with human life. In fact, it is "life itself, conceived in purity, incarnate through the magic of speech." Literature also stands in the most intimate relations with nature. In the history of mankind, the three—life, literature, and nature—are inextricably interwoven. And so it is

> "The clouds that gather round the setting sun
> Do take a sober coloring from an eye
> That hath kept watch o'er man's mortality."

Whoever stood and listened at the melancholy, long, withdrawing roar of the ocean and did not find in it a new meaning, if he had read Sophocles and remembered that "Sophocles too long ago heard it on the Ægean, and it brought into his mind the turbid ebb and flow of human misery"? What lover of English poetry does not see an added glory in that most splendid of all earthly spectacles, the daily miracle of a rising sun, if he carries in his heart Milton's phrase, "While the still morn went out with sandals gray"? What lover of English poetry can look even upon the sear and forbidding autumn trees—that austerest natural

scene—without a thrill of pleasure because he remembers Shakespeare's tender and beautiful line in which they are described as

> "Bare ruin'd choirs, where late the sweet birds sang"?

To the lover of poetry there not only then wells up within himself a perpetual spring of peace and joy, a sort of fountain of eternal youth; but there also rises before his eyes a vision of a new heaven and a new earth. All but the most highly gifted of men need to be taught to see by those who have been able to see more clearly and who had the power of expressing the thoughts and feelings in which we can all dimly share when they have been phrased for us. The poets not only open up for us a new world of nature, but they help us to unlock our own hearts.

> "We're made so that we love
> First, when we see them painted, things we've passed
> Perhaps a hundred times, nor cared to see."

If we can give the youth of our State this second vision, and if about our splendid mountains, our plains, and our fields we can put noble associations of great writings and great names, it will hasten the movement back to the farms more certainly than all possible text-books written in terms of agriculture. The Englishman's love of the country has been influenced more than we can estimate by English literature.

Literature is a lasting expression in words of the meaning of life, and it records in permanent form every step of progress man has made. It does more than any other kind of record to keep the world's memory alive and to transmit to us our great heritage from the past. And we shall have to continue to look to it to supply those permanent and universal standards to which our civilization must conform if it is ever to reach the highest levels of excellence.

But this formative, consoling, and sustaining power can only be got through reading the very greatest books. We ought especially to study more of our very best poetry. Aside from the supreme value—the formative, consoling, and sustaining power of the very greatest poetry, that has stood the testing of time, it is an advantage in our reading to get back into the past, away from the local, the personal, and the present into the high, calm, serene atmosphere of the classics, into the "silence that precedes all creation." We thus escape from the fret and the fever of our bustling, hurrying life into the exalted and idealized regions of the creative imagination, where our spirits may be quiet and unperturbed and our minds may be fed in a "wise passiveness."

This devotion to the old dead masters will not interfere with our recognition of the new. As a people we have been and, I fear still are,

singularly indifferent to our own writers. For a man sincerely devoted to a great art the hardest thing to bear is just neglect. He does not seek notoriety. If he is a man of first rate quality he despises it. But he does crave to be understood by those who have understanding hearts. Between the neglect of the many and the plain bias of coteries of partisans our native writers have had little external incitement to do their best. Undue praise is as futile as neglect. Literature is something too great and too universal to be affected by any kind of boosting. It can only finally stand on its intrinsic merit. The only honest, useful thing any critic can do for any author—or for anybody else so far as that is concerned—is to speak of him as he is; nothing extenuate nor aught set down in malice. For us of the South to do this in the case of poets like Timrod and Lanier, for example, or a romancer like Simms is exceedingly difficult. They were all so "lovely and pleasant in their lives," made such heroic efforts against tremendous odds to lead the higher life, but were so cramped, cabbined, and confined in their surroundings and so pitiable in their lot, that we can with great difficulty look upon them in any other light than as martyrs to a lost cause. And yet they can all afford to stand on their merits. Each one holds perhaps not a high but a secure place in American literary annals. We may not place Timrod and Lanier among the few great English poets. We must not thus confuse and lower our ideals. A high ideal of excellence is the most sacred and valuable thing to a race. We in democratic America constantly need to be reminded by the Greek poet that excellence dwells high among the rocks and that to attain it we must wear out our very souls. The man who in any of the higher fields of effort, by honest endeavor wins some measure of success, should receive the simple, sincere praise of all wise and good men. It is not proper that this praise should be given with loud extravagance, but it should simply be a just and sincere tribute. To succeed in an humble way, to hold but a small niche in the everlasting temple of fame, is worth all that even Lanier or Timrod ever suffered.

The welfare of any native literature demands at once this sympathetic but critical attitude. It must have back of it a vigorous intellectual life. The lack of this critical public explains the dearth of ideas in all our older literary men. They are as a rule noble, finely constituted, well endowed, but there is a lack of vigor and maturity in their productions. They promise more than they fulfill. They are greater for what they are than for what they do. Over them all might be placed a broken shaft, as Simms requested should be placed over his grave, and on the broken shaft might be carved the epitaph which he composed for himself: "Here lies one who, after a reasonably long life,

distinguished chiefly by unceasing labors, has left all his better works undone." We have this feeling about them all. They left all their better works undone. They did not give a full expression of themselves. And I suppose we all have much the same feeling about two of our most gifted writers in this generation—the lamented Avery and McNeill.

Literature is a sort of flowering of the tree of life and it appears when this body of life is sound and growing. We can not force it. But we can create a climate of opinion in which it may take root and flourish. Whether our great man shall come even then is, as a Frenchman once said, a secret safely locked up in the keeping of the immortal gods. And whether we ourselves shall live to see it or not, to be the forerunners and heralds of such a day is a call that ought to stir every enlightened and right-minded man and woman among us.

A New Method of Historical Investigation

By Dr. Herman Harrell Horne, Professor of the History of Education and the History of Philosophy in New York University.

Mr. President and Fellow North Carolinians: When I was preparatory student in one of the schools of this State, no longer in existence now, I once entered a contest in declamation. The very title of the piece I spoke has escaped me, but I remember very well the title of the speech that won the contest, and the speaker who won the contest. Alec. Lassiter was the speaker, and he spoke a piece entitled "North Carolina." When at the University in my sophomore year, as a member of one of the societies, again I entered a contest in declamation. I remembered Alec. Lassiter and his speech on North Carolina, and I said to myself: "I will speak the piece entitled 'North Carolina'." And, ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to report to you tonight that in that contest it was not another man that won.

Now, the first line of that speech I still remember, and I can say it tonight with greater emotion than I was able to say it then, twenty years ago. It is as follows: "I stand here tonight proud to lift my voice in behalf of my native State," and I say it still. And I am happy to report to you what some of you may have suspected, that the author of that speech was my grandfather, Dr. W. B. Harrell. A more loyal lover of the State never breathed, though he was born in Suffolk, Va.

You will pardon me, Mr. President, if my introductory remarks are somewhat lengthy. I feel like a Carolinian again among fellow Carolinians. As we sit here tonight in the very shadow of the Capitol, you will pardon me for saying that I am very grateful to stand upon this platform as the nephew of the late and lamented Col. Ashley Horne. It was the pleasure of my wife, a North Carolina girl, and myself to go last Sunday afternoon to the studio in New York City where was the model of the statue to be erected in honor of the women of the Confederacy, a gift to the State of North Carolina from Col. Ashley Horne. You probably have read what that statute is to be. Here is seated a woman of the Confederacy, and there is a young boy of the Confederacy, grasping a sword. She has a book upon her lap, but her eyes are set toward the future. The boy has been listening to the story of war, and his eyes, too, as he grasps the sword, are looking toward the future. The statue grips you, thrills you, as its message enters your soul. Different observers will interpret it differently. I know that to my uncle it was a woman of the time telling a boy of the time of his older brothers at

the front, and how she would be glad to do even more than she has been able to do in sending those boys there. To the sculptor of the group the woman represents one living today, a grandmother of the Confederacy, who has survived the shock of the War and suffered its bitterness, and is telling the grandson, who has been playing with the sword and has knelt at her side with a question as to its meaning, the story of the War Between the States. Together they look out into the future which is to yield the greater fruition of that contest.

To some the statue, like history, will lead to knowledge. To others the statue, again like history, will awaken emotion. But to me the statue, as history should do, will lead to action.

Now, Mr. President, in the interpretation which I have just suggested for this statue, which is to adorn this city, you have the keynote of what I want to say to you tonight. Indeed I might very properly at this time take my seat as having made my speech, but for the pleasant necessity resting upon me, as suggested by the Secretary of the Society, of standing here before you for perhaps forty-five minutes.

My topic is "A New Method of Historical Investigation," a very ambitious title. I apologize for it at the beginning. That topic was not altogether of my own choosing. I sent your honored Secretary a short list of topics, and from that list he chose the one upon which I am to speak tonight. If I succeed, certainly give the credit to my friend, Mr. Connor, in large measure, and if I fail, I suppose the blame will come to me.

The problem is how to make history function in life, how to set history to work. We have listened tonight to a literary gem. It is the kind of production to which we shall turn back to read with greatest inspiration and satisfaction. In contrast with what President Few has said to you tonight, it falls to me to speak some very plain prose on how to make history do something in the world, and the answer which I am to give to that problem is this, by the new method of historical investigation.

At the end of the recent campaign for the mayoralty of the greater city of New York, the mayor-elect, Mr. Mitchel, reviewing the campaign, and thinking of it, as District Attorney Whitman had characterized it, as one of vituperation and censure, said: "But now the campaign is merely historical." It is against that interpretation of history that I would rebel, that when a thing is done you fold it in a napkin and lay it away, and there it rests as "merely historical." I want the money in the napkins, in the name of history, which has been laid

away, to be taken out, to be unfolded, to be sent into usage again as circulating coin.

How has history been regarded? Very briefly, I might characterize four points of view from which history has been regarded. History is a record, the kind of thing a Babylonian king might carve upon a monument. He who will may consult it. That is how Ranke describes history, as a mere narration of what actually happened.

Another point of view regarding history is that it is a source of culture. It is the kind of thing that well educated people want to know about. One could make no pretensions to having had access to the sources of culture unless one were acquainted with certain outstanding facts of human history, and so it has been regarded.

Now, in the third place, history has been regarded as quickening an emotion, as awakening enthusiasm about the past, as awakening pride and sentiment in the past, and so it has led to a devotion to the past.

And, in the fourth place, history has been regarded as a field of intensive investigation for the scholar. He who likes musty tomes may open the pages and put his nose between, and there he will find some very interesting old material, of concern to the antiquarian. Then he may write a book which gives him considerable reputation, but which very few people read, and he becomes known as an historical scholar.

Now, it would not become me to cast the slightest reflection upon any one of these ways in which history has been regarded. In fact, there is truth in each one of these points of view. History is a record. It is a source of culture. It should awaken certain emotions, and it is a field of intensive investigation for the scholar. I would not detract one iota from the ways in which history has been regarded, but I should like to supplement these four points of view with a new point of view.

Far be it from me to appear too personal or too ambitious tonight in presenting to you a new point of view about history. I would do it with all simplicity and all modesty. You chose this subject upon which I am to speak. I bring it to you warm out of my heart's experience. It is the very principle which, for five years, I have been endeavoring to work out with my graduate students at New York University. Since you wanted me to speak on this subject, I must speak to you about my own little work.

I would have history regarded as a utility. I would set history to work. I would make history function in life. Was Patrick Henry right when he said, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience?" Has the lamp of experience been used to guide our feet?

A story comes into my mind told by John Sharp Williams at the time at which he was attorney for one of the southern railways. It appears that this railway had engaged an old negro man to swing a lantern at a certain crossing where a country road came down and crossed, at the foot of a hill, the railroad. Once a farmer was driving his wagon down, after dark, and he was on the railroad when a train struck him with considerable injury to his animal and his wagon and some to himself. He sued the company. In court his lawyer asked the old negro, "Were you on duty this night?" The negro said he was. "Did you swing your lantern this night?" The old negro said, "I did." On the evidence of the old negro the defendant won, and the wounded plaintiff lost his case. Afterwards Williams was talking to the old negro, and said, "You won that case for me." "Yes, sir," the old negro said, "but I was sure glad that lawyer didn't ask me, Was that lantern lit?"

Have we swung the lantern of history? Perhaps we have. Has that lantern been lit? I would light the lantern of history, that men may see, and perhaps that there may be fewer social wrecks in the future.

We live in an age in which the pragmatic philosophy is very influential—the philosophy that holds that ideals that work are true, and that ideals that will not work are false. I can not claim to be a pragmatist. I am willing to allow that some ideals that are eternally true do not and can not work just now, because social conditions are so bad. And yet those ideals stand as true ideals. But I am enough of a pragmatist to demand that the ideals which we hold to be true try to work. Now, we hold as a theoretical matter that history somehow should be practical. Are we demanding that that ideal try to work? I, at least, am so demanding of my own students. I would not have history presented merely from the biographical standpoint, great as is that view of Carlyle's. I would not have history presented from the standpoint of the main social tendencies in the past, not primarily. But I would have history presented from the standpoint of modern problems in the light of their historical antecedents, and there you have the very brief answer to the question, "How shall we make history work?" We shall make it work by tracing the contemporary problems in the light of their antecedents.

Up at the University here they have a new department, known as the Bureau of Municipal and Legislative Reference. As I understand it, when any matter of legislation is pending, or when any municipal proposition is being considered, the people who are concerned may apply to this Bureau for information as to whether this measure has been tried or no, and if tried, whether it has worked. That is the idea.

Please do not let any member of this elect group of literary and historical students of North Carolina suppose that I am such a Philistine as to say that the theory of education as culture is outworn. Not so. Life is always bigger than a man's business, and education must always be cultural as well as practical. But business is part of a man's life, and if education is going to fit us, as Spencer said, for complete living, then education must take account of our business. We here in North Carolina are endeavoring to build up a great social democracy. That is the business of the State. And we are facing issues in this upbuilding which require that the lamp of history be swung lighted to illumine our pathway.

How shall I describe this new method? You select just those contemporary issues which concern the welfare of the State. You then trace those issues in their past historical connection, so that you develop, as the French pragmatic philosopher Bergson says, "a sympathetic intuition" regarding that problem. You have been present at the social birth of that problem; you have seen it in the various stages of its career; and now you see it in its present status in society. Having been sponsor for this problem, so to speak, throughout its life history, you now have a sympathetic intuition of it. You know your problem, you are prepared to say what may be expected to come next in its development. It is the functional point of view—you get knowledge that you may use it. It is the genetic point of view—you follow the growth of the problem. It is the developmental, it is the extensive point of view. No longer is the history scholar to study some question of mediæval or ancient history without reference to its modern bearings. He is to consider only those questions that face the world today, but those questions he is considering in their complete aspect, ancient, mediæval, and modern.

Now, as to the question of the place of the individual in society. I will not discuss that now, but will use it as an illustration of the application of this method. I refer to it because my book dealing with this subject appeared two years before the work of J. H. Robinson, of Columbia, entitled "The New History," for his point of view and the one I have just given you are very similar. J. H. Robinson has shown that the modern social institutions, to be understood, must be treated from the historical standpoint, and we study history in order that we may understand the modern social conditions. And, similarly, a question in philosophy, whether the human will is free or determined in its action, it has been my privilege to treat again from this historical standpoint. You will be interested to know that, in the case of the problem of the individual, versus society, it appeared to be evident that to

be an outstanding individual in history has regularly been an unpopular thing. It has been heretical. To conform to social custom has regularly been the popular thing, the orthodox thing. You would likewise be interested to know in the case of the problem of free will, that in the course of the history of human thinking, regarding human action as determined has been the customary thing, and to hold, as we are inclined to hold today, that the human will is free and has some power of control over the events of life has been historically the unusual viewpoint. The course of human history shows the widening emphasis upon individualism in society. Who, then, can say that in a modern social democracy the individual must be submerged? Likewise, the course of human history has shown the widening recognition of the principle of the freedom of the human will. Who, then, as a philosophical thinker, if he is at all enlightened by the study of history in its movement, can say that man has no power over his individual action? Rather we are coming to say, with Henley:

> "It matters not how strait the gate,
> How charged with punishments the scroll,
> I am the master of my fate,
> I am the captain of my soul."

And so my students, in this seminar of mine on the history of education, are put to work upon modern problems. Once I gave a seminar in the history of mediæval education. This I no longer do. Instead, I give a seminar for graduate students on the history of modern problems only, treated, however in the light of the whole past.

I brought with me a list of problems that have been actually worked out by my own students in accord with this principle. Again I beg pardon for the personal note. This makes concrete the abstract principles about which we have been speaking. Their papers are mostly in my hands at present, and in the course of the coming winter this seminar will put out in print a little volume of essays embodying this new method of investigation.

The first of my list of problems is, How should the modern educational system be reorganized? (You will be interested to know that the man who wrote that paper, either by inherited capacity or by the possession of knowledge of organization due to a study of all past methods, became so interested in the subject of organization that he decided to accept a very flattering position offered him by the Standard Oil Company. That was an unexpected vindication of the method.)

Again, a topic which I am very glad to mention in this hall where we are assembled, in this institution which has done so much for over a

dozen years for the education of the women of North Carolina, and which has set a standard in higher education for women in North Carolina and in the whole South: What should the education of women be? In graduate work in New York University we do not consider that learning has any gender. We have men and women students, and the author of this paper is a woman. And when the faculty of Meredith College or some other Southern institution wants a woman, a great woman, to be a teacher of girls, please remember my name and address. I may be able to recommend to you the right woman.

How should we educate atypical children?—a new question. We have rated children all as normal. Many are backword, nervous, their development arrested. Many are precocious, supernormal. We are now proposing education for them.

How should secondary education be improved? What should be the scope of vocational education? How should schools be disciplined? What is the solution of the problem of religious education in our public schools? What is the place of geography in the curriculum? These are some other problems on my list.

So I have endeavored to make concrete to you, by this list, the actual subjects to which this method has been applied. You will pardon the fact that the illustrations are drawn from the history of one subject, education. That chances to be the subject with which I am most concerned.

You ask me, Why do you speak to the members of the State Literary and Historical Society on this method? That may do for New York, but do you mean to say that this method might be used in North Carolina? My friends, you would not have asked me to come this distance and have me revive here the happy associations of my childhood unless you had wanted me to bring you a message that comes warm from my life. And so I would say that this is a method for North Carolina; there is nothing too good for North Carolina. We have in our colleges, in our University, graduate students who are bending their thought to the solution of the modern social questions in North Carolina. We have members of this Society who are concerned that our experience in this State shall be lighted by whatsoever source from which the light may be drawn, and so, among the possible methods of treating historical questions, I propose that we too apply this one.

To what questions? It is my misfortune that I am not able to follow the intimate history of this State according to the promptings of my heart and affections. Necessity has laid it upon me that I keep abreast of the vast life we struggle to serve in our cosmopolitan city. But I take pleasure in the progress of North Carolina. I endeavor to study

her growth, and I should say that there are certain outstanding social questions in North Carolina today which might be with peculiar profit treated from this standpoint. I have written out six specific ones.

The first one has been touched already by the President in his address tonight—another very welcome vindication of the new method. It is, Under what social conditions does literature flourish?

Is not that one thing this Society means by its existence? We speak of the Periclean age, we speak of the Augustan age, we speak of the Medicean age, we speak of the age of Louis XIV, we speak of the Elizabethan age. There are North Carolinians now who are writing and studying and thinking, and winning this beautiful cup year by year, who are dreaming of a revival of literature in North Carolina. Dream on, work on! Under what social conditions does literature flourish in the history of the world? Have we those social conditions in North Carolina? To what extent have we them? If we have them not, what may you and I do to bring about those social conditions out of which literature grows as a beautiful flower?

Second. How has it worked in the past to revise and amend State constitutions? I understand, your Excellency, that the Legislature of North Carolina has to consider the question of the revision and the amendment of the State Constitution. The new method would suggest that some historical scholar be set to work to trace the history of the revisions and the amendments to State constitutions in the United States—what they have been, under what conditions they have been passed, how those amendments and revisions have worked in practice. Then that result should be condensed and not put away on a dry-as-dust shelf, but published in a readable monograph form and a copy put into the hands of every member of the General Assembly, of every voter in the State, in order that he may vote intelligently. This would swing the lantern of history lit.

Third. What system of taxation is best, as shown by the past workings of all the main systems? I have heard the system of taxation in North Carolina described as an antiquated system. I shall not say that the charge is just, but there lives in North Carolina, perhaps there is in this audience, some person who, in the light of history, tracing the systems of taxation in the past, could tell us with authority whether or not North Carolina has an antiquated system of taxation. And when that person has told us, that person would be prepared further to go on and say, The best system of taxation, judged by results in the past, is this system, from that country. It matters not what system or what country. Then, are the social conditions of North Carolina so similar that this would

be the best system of taxation for North Carolina? What we need in our State treasury is money—the State of North Carolina, for its great forward progress, needs money.

Fourth. (We have distinguished jurists in this presence tonight. That North Carolina girl to whom I made reference was the daughter of a lawyer, and she is also the daughter of a Confederate soldier. Having associated with her for about twelve years I have learned to speak with great deference in the presence of the law.) Fourth, has the law's delay in the past resulted in more social injuries or benefits? And when some historical student has told us that, from the old days of trial by jury to today, the law's delays have resulted in these four or five or six definite benefits or injuries to society, the question as to whether we shall have special trial judges will be settled, and it will be settled right.

Fifth. Has special legislation by general assemblies worked well or ill for society? Let us know, let us not guess or suppose or opine, but let us know.

Sixth. Are we ready for compulsory education? In view of the fact that North Carolina is so interested in a six months' school term, and is straining every nerve that perchance she may be able to secure a six months' term for her boys and girls, remembering that the old Roman and Greek boys and girls had just the occasional holidays of the religious festivals and were taught all the other days of the year, just when North Carolina is considering this very question, let some student of the history of education in our State, or out of it, write us a little monograph on this question, "What have actually been the social effects of more education for the people?" Then North Carolina, when she knows the facts in the case, will rise, as she has always risen, in her strength, to do the bidding of her people. I covet for the members of this Society, and for those young students in our midst, throbbing with a noble impulse to serve our State, I covet for them the opportunity to serve her through the practical interpretation of history.

Nothing impresses me more when I come back than the fact that the consciousness of North Carolina is widening. We are not thinking simply in state terms, though those are proper terms in which to think. We are not thinking simply in terms of the South, though those are proper terms in which to think. Well do I remember how, on the occasion of a recent visit to Athens, Ga., a member of that university faculty said to me, putting that emotion into his words that I could feel, "We here in Georgia are still looking for leadership to the Old North State." We are thinking in terms of the Nation. The appointment of Josephus Daniels and other native Carolinians to President Wilson's cabinet has

taught us to think in terms of the Nation. And President Wilson has given us that very phrase which is the summary of my message tonight: "Men of the forward-looking mind." We look back into history to gain that insight into our present problems which shall give us foresight for the greater future. The appointment of Major Hale, of Fayetteville, and of Walter Page as ambassadors to foreign countries is teaching us to think in international terms. It is a great thing to live in North Carolina today and feel the pulse of the State as it beats in harmony with the pulse of the South, and with the pulse of the Nation, with the pulse of the world. North Carolina, may she learn and may she have something to teach, learn from the old world, and teach to the whole world.

Relations Between the Confederate States Government and the Government of North Carolina

Walter A. Montgomery.

It may as well be stated, in the outset, that the relations between the Government of the Confederate States of America and the State Government of North Carolina, whatever they may have been during the first year of the association, became during the last three, discordant, and at times, little less than strained.

For the proper treatment of our subject, it is indispensable to review some of the conditions and happenings which lead up to the establishment of the Confederate States Government, and to take note of the difference between the characteristics and political opinions of the people of those seven States which originally composed the Confederate Government and those of the other slave-holding States which subsequently united with the Confederacy, especially those of North Carolina.

There can be no doubt that secession was resorted to by South Carolina and the six Gulf States for the protection of slavery. Each one of those States made a declaration to that effect, at the time of its secession, either in the ordinances of convention, or in accompanying and explanatory documents; and there is little less doubt that anxiety about, and fear for, the safety of that institution greatly influenced the members of the conventions of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas in their determination to resist the coercion of the Southern States, and to dissolve their connection with the Union. That fear alone, however, would not have caused them to take that step.

In the rich lands of these border-States, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, the slave-holding interest was strong and controlling and, there, the doctrine of State rights, rejuvenated and re-shaped by Nathaniel Macon and John Randolph in the interest of slavery, to the point of secession and disunion, prevailed. But there were considerable areas of those States lying contiguous and running down to the eastward and to the westward from the Alleghany not a little into the flat country, in the greater part of which slave labor did not exist, and in the other part it was only sporadic and did not appreciably affect domestic conditions. In those sections there was no positive influence exerted by the wealth and culture of the surrounding slave-holding domain, and the people had never adopted the political views of the slave-holding sections of those States and of the Gulf States. And it may be safely asserted that up to the 15th of April, 1861, the time of the proclamation

of the President of the United States in which he called for each State's quota of militia in order (as it read) to suppress said combination and to cause the laws to be duly executed, the great number of the politicians and public men, and a very large majority of the people of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas were not only loyal to the Government of the United States, but were sincerely attached to it. When that proclamation was issued a convention of the people of Arkansas had been held, had rejected a proposed ordinance of secession, and had adjourned.

In Tennessee the Legislature, in special session, called by Governor Harris, provided for an election, at which it should be determined whether or not a convention should be held on the 25th of February, 1861. The vote for convention was 24,749 and against convention, 91,803. The popular majority, therefore, against convention was 67,054 out of a total vote of 116,552. In Virginia the Legislature called a State convention to meet on the 13th of February, 1861. The convention assembled and for two months its members refused to pass an ordinance of secession, although commissioners and agents from the seceding States had in person urged such a course with much persistence with the members of the Convention, and powerful pressure had been brought to bear upon that body to that end by many of the strongest citizens of that State.

There was also a considerable section of the State of Kentucky which adjoined the non-slave holding territory of Virginia and Tennessee of similar characteristics of soil and people. Kentucky, however, was only nominally in alliance with the Confederate States, her entrance into that government being of such slight consequence and so little representative of the people of Kentucky that members of the Confederate Congress were on more than one occasion on the verge of contesting the right of the members from that State to participate in the deliberations of that body. Representation in the Confederate Congress was based on the proceedings of a revolutionary meeting of the people of a few counties along the southern Tennessee line, in November, 1861. The meeting was held upon the call of former United States Senator Breckenridge, at Russellville, a small town ten or fifteen miles from the Tennessee border and was made up mostly of refugees from counties under control of the Union forces. The two Senators and the Representatives in the lower House appointed or elected through the machinery of that meeting were received by the Confederate Government. Thereafter the Representatives were elected by the few soldiers from Kentucky in the Confederate armies.

So large was the area in North Carolina in which slave labor did not prevail, or if it did appreciably, only in particular localities, and so numerous was the population that inhabited it, that as late as February 28, 1861, weeks after the government of the Confederate States had been in operation, in Montgomery, they defeated at the polls a proposition even to consider their Federal relations.

The history of that campaign is remarkable. The interest in the election was intense. The pulpit took almost as active a part as the newspapers and politicians. The convention was defeated by a vote of 47,232 against, and 46,672 for, the majority against convention being 651, including the vote of Davie County, which was rejected on the official count because of some irregularity in the returns. With Davie County excluded the majority against convention was 195. Eighty-three Union candidates were elected and 37 dis-Union. That was no surprise. But that which caused astonishment was that convention had been defeated, notwithstanding large numbers of the most prominent of the Union leaders favored a convention and several were candidates to be delegates, should a convention be called, and thousands of Unionists voted for convention. Mr. Z. B. Vance, then a member of Congress, although a strong Unionist was not opposed to the convention. In Wake County, for example, convention was carried by a majority of 165, while the Union candidates, Mr. George E. Badger, Mr. W. W. Holden, and Mr. Kemp P. Battle, three of the most prominent men in the State, were elected by a majority of nearly 1,200. The newspapers were probably nearer together in favoring a convention than they ever had been on any public question before; and in addition the Confederate Government, embracing every Southern State south of North Carolina, had been in operation since the 8th of February—South Carolina having seceded in December, 1860, Texas on the 1st day of February, and the other five States in January, 1861. The result of that election could have meant nothing else than the people's determination to hold in their own hands the matter of the State's relation to the Union, and not to commit that question to any representative body. It will not be out of place here to make a particular mention of one of the candidates from the county of Wake—W. W. Holden—for the reason that he was a most conspicuous figure during the entire period of the War.

Probably he was, in North Carolina, generally regarded as an original secessionist. The contrary is certainly true. He spoke strongly in the Charleston convention for the Union, and he was, and was known to be, by those familiar with public affairs, before the President's proclamation of the 15th of April, opposed to taking any steps to sever the State's relation with the Federal Government. In a Union meeting in

Raleigh, November, 1860, he was the author of resolutions adopted, that were strongly Union in sentiment and in language. In State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina* it is said that in a joint discussion with his State Rights opponent, February 14th (1861), Mr. Holden denied the right of a State to secede from the Union, favored the Crittenden compromise, and asserted that it was the duty of the Federal Government to reinforce and defend Fort Sumter and that the passage of troops across North Carolina for that purpose should not be resisted. In a foot-note the author states that the *State Journal* of February 20, 1861, had a full report of that speech with severe criticism. He was deprived of the State printing by the Legislature in December, 1860, because he was a Unionist, and was superceded by an Englishman, by birth, naturalized on the April before, without interest in slaves and an avowed disunionist.† The Legislature was by a very large majority Unionist, but the secessionists in that body, by adroit management in a caucus of the party, contrived the defeat of Mr. Holden. He signed the ordinance of secessuon but every other Unionist in the convention did likewise. They were all against the coercion of the South and had been for withdrawing from the Union since Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of 15th of April. The forty and more members who, like Mr. Graham and Mr. Badger, favored an ordinance of withdrawal based on the idea of revolution and who afterwards voted for and signed the ordinance of secession, did so after, upon a test vote, Mr. Badger's proposed ordinance favoring revolution had been rejected. The revolutionists deemed it unwise to continue a division upon the difference between a withdrawal upon revolutionary principles and withdrawal by secession.

But on the 12th of April, 1861, at 4:00 a. m., the Confederates made an attack on Fort Sumter. On the next day the Fort was surrendered, and on the 14th was evacuated. On the following day, the 15th, the President of the United States issued that celebrated proclamation (in which he called upon the several States, including the border States, to furnish their quota of militia to suppress what he termed the unlawful combination of the seven Confederate States and to execute the laws) and within a few weeks the States of Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Arkansas seceded.

The people of those States felt that that proclamation brought squarely before them the choice between fighting for the Union or for the Confederate States—for the North or for the South. Under that dilemma they decided to take their stand with the South. No doubt the

*Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, Ph.D.

†Correspondence of Johnathan Worth.

slave-holding element was moved also by the still further motive of interest in their slave property. They believed, as matters stood, that that institution could be preserved only through a coalition with the seceding States, and the success of secession. The ties of kinship and friendship and intermarriage between those States and the Southern States were additional inducements to decide their choice.

Before that proclamation was issued the people of those border States did not think that the grievances of which South Carolina and the Gulf States complained had been of sufficient consequence to justify secession; especially did they not think that the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, even though he was chosen by one section and was opposed, certainly, to the extension of slavery, was a sufficient excuse for such action. And besides, they felt that they could not, in good faith, take such a step after they had contested his election with all their might and had been beaten only because of discord and divisions amongst themselves.

The States of Virginia and Tennessee, unwilling to adopt the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States, made a temporary alliance with that Government in which it was stipulated that until the Union of those commonwealths with the Confederacy, according to the Constitution of each power, should be perfected, the whole military force and operations of the two States in the impending conflict with the United States, should be under the chief control and direction of the President of the Confederate States as if they were then members of the Confederate States. And, here, I trust that a slight digression will be excused:

Nothing in all history is more nobly pathetic than the environment of the people of those two States at that time. They saw ahead of them ruined homes, the slaughter of their young men and the destruction of their property. Never was that passage of Scripture, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," been more appropriately applied than to the people of those States in that great crisis. They sacrificed themselves in a quarrel which was not their own. And the same can be said of the people of North Carolina.

The Government of the Confederate States, and the leaders not in official life, knowing that the movement must collapse unless the border States could be brought in with them, by management and persistence finally had their way, and made Virginia and Tennessee their battle-ground and protected themselves from invasion by land till the catastrophe came.

There is an association between the old Mother of States and her great son, Robert E. Lee, which is ever present in the mind of all

Southerners, especially in connection with the calamitous times of secession and war. More than thirty years of his life had been given to the military service of his country. His personal character was more admirable even than his military genius and accomplishments. He had not only the confidence of his countrymen in the North and in the South, but their affectionate interest. He loved his whole country, and whatever may be said to the contrary he had no patience with the doctrine of secession, and did not think the time for revolution had come when the seven Southern States seceded. He thought, from the viewpoint of the Constitution that the South had not received that treatment on the question of slavery which was agreed on in that instrument, but that that matter could and should have been arranged if sensible and honest efforts had been made for that purpose; and he said so—in some of his letters to his family, and particularly on his examination before the Congressional Committee in Washington. He opposed slavery and thought, and said, it was morally and politically wrong; and he had liberated his own slaves before the war closed. He was a very great man. He was not only great as a soldier—in the same class with the great Frederick—but he was the statesman of the South. His letters to his family, and those to the officials of the Confederate Government, and the orders from his headquarters and his course after the war prove his greatness as a civilian.

So great a man was General Lee that what course he would have pursued if his own State had not seceded has been a question of most intense interest to many thoughtful people. One of the most notable scenes in American history was that of his installation as Commander-in-Chief of the forces of Virginia, in the convention hall in Richmond, on the 23d of April, 1861. The President of the convention said, in investing him with supreme military power: "Sir, we have by this unanimous vote expressed our conviction that you are, at this day, among the living citizens of Virginia, 'first in war.'" Three days after that event the State of Virginia, through its convention, entered into the temporary alliance with the Confederate States, heretofore mentioned, by which the whole military affairs and military resources of the State were turned over to the President of the Confederate States, exclusively, and General Lee was again a private citizen, no special provision having been made for his official rank. One look, one gesture in opposition, would have defeated the alliance. But it was not given.

He had resigned his commission in the army of the United States only after Virginia had seceded and in his letter to General Scott, of date April 20, 1861, in which he enclosed his resignation (requesting General Scott to deliver it at the proper office) he wrote, among other

things, "Save in defense of my native State I never desire again to draw my sword." He afterwards led the Southern armies with wonderful ability and on many victorious fields, but it may be that if Virginia had not seceded his sword would have been drawn for the Union.

It is certain that, when he resigned his commission in the United States Army, April 20, 1861, he had no idea of entering the service of the Confederate States. In his celebrated letter to Reverdy Johnson, dated the 25th of February, 1868, among other things he wrote: "Upon reflection after returning to my home I concluded that I ought not to retain the commission I held in the United States Army, and on the second morning thereafter [alluding to his interviews with General Scott and Mr. Blair, two days before] I forwarded my resignation to General Scott. At the time I hoped that peace would have been preserved; that some way would have been found to save the country from the calamities of war; and I then had no other intention than to pass the remainder of my life as a private citizen."

In more than one historical writing it is affirmed that, in the celebrated interview between himself and Mr. Francis P. Blair, in which Mr. Blair, at the suggestion of Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, and General Scott, at the instance of President Lincoln offered to Colonel Lee the command of the Union Army, Colonel Lee declined the appointment saying that, though he opposed secession and deprecated war, he would take no part in the invasion of the Southern States. That answer of Colonel Lee to Mr. Blair's proposal is found in a letter from Colonel Lee to Reverdy Johnson, of date Feburary 25, 1868, and was written under the following circumstances: General Lee had just seen the report of a speech made by Mr. Cameron, in the Senate of the United States, in which the Senator declared that on the 18th of April, 1861, Colonel Lee called on a gentleman who had his, Cameron's, entire confidence and intimated that he would like to have the command of the Army. That he assured that gentleman, who was in the confidence of the Administration, of his entire loyalty and devotion to the interests of the Administration and the country; that he and General Scott approved of the plan of placing Colonel Lee at the head of the Army; that the place was offered to Lee, and that he accepted the office, verbally, with the promise that he would go into Virginia, settle his business and then come back to take command. Reverdy Johnson replied to Cameron's speech, saying, that he doubted the correctness of Cameron's statements. General Lee, then, wrote the letter above referred to in which he thanked Johnson for his kindness, and continuing, wrote: "I never intimated to any one that I desired the command

of the United States Army, nor did I ever have a conversation with but one gentleman, the Hon. Francis P. Blair, on the subject, which was at his invitation and, as I understood, at the instance of President Lincoln. After listening to his remarks, I declined the offer he made to take command of the Army that was to be brought into the field, stating as candidly and courteously as I could that though opposed to secession and deprecating war, I could take no part in an invasion of the Southern States." In the same letter General Lee said: "I went directly from the interview with Mr. Blair to the office of General Scott, and told him of the proposition that had been made to me, and my decision."

In the *National Intelligencer* of the issue of August 9, 1866, appeared a letter from Montgomery Blair, former Postmaster-General in Mr. Lincoln's cabinet, in which he stated that "General Lee said to my father when he was sounded by him, at the request of President Lincoln, about taking command of our Army against the rebellion, then hanging upon the decision of the Virginia Convention, 'Mr. Blair, I look upon secession as anarchy. If I owned the four millions of slaves at the South, I would sacrifice them all to the Union; but how can I draw my sword upon Virginia, my native State?' He could not determine then; said he would consult with his friend General Scott, and went on the same day to Richmond probably to arbitrate difficulties; and we see the result."

Neither General Scott nor General Lee ever made a full statement of what happened between them on that memorable day. Mr. Cameron heard not a word of the conversation between Colonel Lee and Mr. Blair, and Montgomery Blair's letter in the *National Intelligencer* as to Colonel Lee's decision is at best hear-say evidence. General Lee's letter to Reverdy Johnson is direct and clear; and is a positive denial that he either accepted the appointment or that he held it under consideration or advisement. His statement is consistent with his character and must be taken as true.

The expression in General Lee's letter to Reverdy Johnson, that "though opposed to secession and deprecating war, I could take no part in an invasion of the Southern States," may probably be regarded as inadvertent, especially when it is considered in connection with the other statement made by him in reference to the motives which influenced him in leaving the service of the United States. That letter was intended to meet the charge of bad faith and dishonorable ambition which had been made in the Senate by Mr. Cameron, and not to make a declaration upon the question as to whether sympathy for the Southern States influenced

his course or whether he was controlled by the political principle, we know he held fealty and prime allegiance to his own State.

In his letter to General Scott enclosing his resignation of his commission in the army, written on the 20th of April, 1861, two days after his interviews with Mr. Blair and General Scott, and three days after the secession ordinance of the Virginia Convention had been passed, he refers to his interview with General Scott and declares that his resignation "would have been presented at once but for the struggle it has caused me to separate myself from a service to which I had devoted the best years of my life, and all the ability I possessed; and he closed the letter by saying, "Save in defense of my native State, I never again desire to draw my sword."

His intentions and motives are fully expressed in a letter to his sister, written on the day of his letter to General Scott and is so important that I will quote it:

Arlington, Virginia, April 20th, 1861.

My Dear Sister:—I am grieved at my inability to see you. * * * I have been waiting for a more convenient season, which has brought to many before me deep and lasting regret. We are now in a state of war which will yield to nothing. The whole South is in a state of Revolution into which Virginia, after a long struggle, has been drawn; and though I recognize no necessity for this state of things, and would have forborne and pleaded to the end, for redress of grievances real or supposed, yet in my own person I had to meet the question, whether I had to take part against my native State. With all my devotion to the Union, and to the feeling of loyalty and duty of an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home. I have, therefore, resigned my commission in the army and save in defense of my native State, with the sincere hope that my poor services may not be needed, I hope I may never be called upon to draw my sword. I know you will blame me, but you must think of me as kindly as you can, and believe that I have endeavored to do what is right.

In answer to the address of the President of the Convention of Virginia, April 23, 1861, in conferring upon him the command of the forces and resources of that State, General Lee said: "I would have preferred your choice had fallen upon an abler man. Trusting in Almighty God, an approving conscience, and the aid of my fellow-citizens, I devote myself to the service of my native State, in whose behalf, alone will I ever again draw my sword."

He was in Texas on frontier duty until a few days before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, in command of the Second United States Cavalry, as Lieutenant-Colonel and Brevet Colonel. He was in Washington on inauguration day and was in close association with General Scott.

President Lincoln nominated him on March 21, 1861, as Colonel First Cavalry and the United States Senate confirmed the nomination on March 23d. Two days afterward he was commissioned Colonel by the President, to take rank from March 16, 1861. He received the commission March 28 and accepted it, by letter, March 30, 1861.

We have traced the temper and feeling of the people of the border States, and of North Carolina particularly, toward secession and dis-union up to the time of the President's proclamation of April 15, 1861, and the change of sentiment after that time in relation thereto including the ordinances of secession and their ratification of the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States. We must now turn our attention to an examination of the political history of the seven States which originally composed the Confederacy. From the time of Mr. Calhoun's *manifesto* that the slavery question must be pressed, the cause of secession and dis-union grew in the South. It manifested itself in the speeches on the hustings, and in conventions called for political purposes, notably the ones in Nashville and Charleston. One part of the people represented by Mr. Rhett and Mr. Wigfall and Mr. Yancey were called disunionists, Secessionists *per se,* and the other part lead by Mr. Davis and Mr. Toombs declared themselves unionists upon condition that their demands concerning slavery were acceded to by the free States. The leaders, all, were, in fact, *ultras* and many of them violent and aggressive and uncompromising in their opinions and in the expression of them. But they were all for secession after Mr. Lincoln's election. On the 5th of January, 1861, the senators from Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas held a secret meeting in Washington and adopted resolutions that the Southern States should secede "as soon as may be"; that provision should be made for a convention to organize a confederacy of the seceded States, the convention to meet not later than the 15th of February at the city of Montgomery; that in view of hostile legislation threatened against the seceding States and which might be consummated before the 4th of March instructions were asked whether the delegates were to remain in Congress until that date for the purpose of defeating such legislation; and that a committee be, and is, hereby appointed consisting of Mr. Davis, Mr. Slidell and Mr. Mallory to carry out the objects of the meeting. These resolutions were in the handwriting of Senator C. C. Clay of Alabama, and were signed by the Senators of all the seceding States including Mr. Jefferson Davis and Mr. Toombs.* The seven Southern States named acted on these resolutions. The convention met on the 4th of

*War Records, Series 1, Vol. I, p. 443 *et seq.*

February, 1861, at Montgomery, and adopted the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States on the 8th of the same month.

It appears from what has been said that the facts are clear that the confederation of the seceding States contained discordant elements, incongruous constituents; that for many years before the agitation over slavery culminated in war, there were strongly marked differences between the people of the border States and those of the Gulf States on the subject of their relations to the Union; and that the border States disapproved the action of the other States in their attempt to withdraw from the Union for the cause which they assigned; and that when the States of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas passed their ordinances of secession and united their fortunes with those of the original seceding States, they did so, simply and purely, for the reason that they believed they had to take that course or join the United States Government in its policy of coercion; that they had to fight for the Union or for the Confederacy. It appears also that the border States were conservative, and disposed to give the duly elected President the opportunity of administering the affairs of government, and that the Gulf States in the judgment of the others were premature and unjustifiable in their acts of secession.

When the border States entered the Confederacy of course they found that government in the hands of the extremists. It is idle to speak of Mr. Davis, the President, of Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President, of the heads of departments, Mr. Toombs, Mr. Benjamin, Mr. Mallory, Mr. Walker, and of the leaders of the Congress or Convention, including Mr. Wigfall, the two Cobb brothers—Howell and Thomas R. R.—and Mr. Rhett as conservatives or moderates. Without going into their political antecedents to show that they were extremists, it is enough to say that Mr. Toombs, Mr. Davis, Mr. Benjamin, Mr. Mallory and all the other Senators from the States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas signed the resolutions of the 5th of January, 1861; that Mr. Davis, after four years of the most disastrous war on record and with a remnant of his armies of only about 20,000. and they on the western side of the Mississippi, under General Kirby Smith, proposed to his generals and cabinet officers still further resistance to a well organized and well equipped army of a million veterans. Mr. Stephens, in a public speech on the military policy of the Confederate States, said if Maryland should secede, the District of Columbia would revert to the State with all the public buildings, and the governmental equipment would follow the reversion, and that the Confederacy would make good her demand. Mr. Walker, the Secretary of War, in a public speech, in Montgomery, after Sumter was fired

on and captured, declared that the Stars and Bars would soon float over the dome of the Capitol in Washington. Mr. Mallory said to Bishop Quintard after he was captured in his flight from Richmond and was in the hands of the Federal authorities in Atlanta, "That his greatest regret was that he had spent four years of his life in working for a people unfit for independence." *

And the extremists kept control of every department of government, except that of war, to the last. And everybody knew that the Department of War was under the direct and absolute control of Mr. Davis. Mr. Seddon and Mr. Randolph were mere figure-heads. In a letter written by Mr. Benjamin from London, after the war, to General Long, formerly of General Lee's staff, in answer to a request for some information about a matter connected with the civil government of the Confederacy, and written in Mr. Davis's lifetime, he wrote that he would be glad to give the information wanted; that he knew nothing about the details of governmental matters but that he had thorough knowledge of all important policies of the government, and, to all that were on the inside it was known that he had written every important State paper or message issued and signed by the President of the Confederate States, Mr. Davis being too busy with military affairs to give his attention to civil matters.

In the various departments and sub-departments of government, the border-states were accorded scant recognition. Virginia was represented in the Department of State, for a few months by Mr. Hunter, and by Mr. Randolph, as Secretary of War for a few months. And it is true that Mr. Seddon served as Secretary of War for more than two years, but that office and that officer were absolutely under the influence and control of the President, and that subordinate had no influence either with the Confederate Government or with the State Government of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas fared worse than Virvinia. During the whole course of the war, no cabinet position was filled by any one from either of these States, except that ex-Governor Bragg of North Carolina was Attorney-General for about five months and Mr. George Davis of the same State held the same position for a year.

Those States had no part or lot in the policies of Government. The officers in capacity of assistants to the cabinet officers, and the chief clerks in the bureaus all went to South Carolina and the Gulf States. There were no appointees from the border States in and around the executive offices of any prominence.

*Quintard Memoirs, p. 143.

In the conduct of military affairs the same policy of favoritism prevailed. Out of the seven active, full generals in the Confederate service, five were from the original seceding States. The most glaring instance of unjust, as well as unwise discrimination, was that of the long delayed assignment of General Lee to a proper and suitable command. We have seen that the convention of Virginia had declared him to be among living Virginians, "First in War," and had commissioned him Major-General and placed him in command of all the Virginia troops and military resources; that Mr. Lincoln, through Mr. Blair, had tendered him the highest command in the Union army; that General Scott thought him the best soldier in the old army. And yet General Beauregard of Louisiana, a captain of engineers in the United States Army when he resigned his commission, was placed in command of the Confederate army, at Manassas, the first real clash at arms between the two sections, the Federal army being known to be larger than the Confederate, and better armed and equipped. General Lee had been sent to the mountains of West Virginia, then to the lowlands of Georgia to plan and construct defenses against naval attacks, then called to the place of advising Mr. Davis in military matters, at Richmond; and it was only after General Beauregard and Mr. Davis had fallen out and quarreled, after General Albert Sidney Johnston had been killed at Shiloh and after General Joe Johnston had been temporarily disabled at Seven Pines that General Lee was given his proper place, the command of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The discrimination against North Carolina in military matters seems to be almost offensive. Our State sent to the Confederate armies in *the field* for active service more *infantry* soldiers than did any other State of the Confederacy. Its losses in killed and mortally wounded were larger than those of any other State of the Confederacy, nearly three times as large as Virginia's or Georgia's or Alabama's or Mississippi's. North Carolina had out of the seven full generals not one. General Bragg, it is true, was born in North Carolina, but for years and years he had been a private citizen and resident of the State of Louisiana, and was appointed as from the latter State. North Carolina had only one of nineteen lieutenant-generals, and that one of no recognized ability, except in the estimation of the President. General D. H. Hill was never a lieutenant-general, although he was, in North Carolina, generally regarded as having attained that rank. He commanded the two divisions of Cleburne and Breckenridge at Chickamauga, and it was thought that his long and able service as a major-general was at last to be recognized by a well deserved promotion, but the President did not send his name to the Senate for the confirmation

of such appointment and, of course, it was never made. Shortly after the battle of Chickamauga, Generals Buckner, Polk, Longstreet, Cleburne, Brown, and other generals signed and sent to the President a petition asking for the removal of General Bragg. General Hill, his friends said, was the last officer who signed the petition, but that his headquarters being central, the petition was left there for the convenience of those who might wish to sign it. Mr. Davis resented the action of the generals, and thought that General Hill was the leader of the movement. Hon. A. C. Avery, who was then on General Hill's staff, and present, in his memorial address on General Hill, gives the following reasons for the President's action: "Mr. Davis was induced to believe that Hill was the originator and most active promoter of the plan to get rid of Bragg, as a chief, and both the President and General Bragg determined to visit that whole sin of the insurbordination of inferior officers of that army on him. His name was not sent to the Senate for confirmation, as lieutenant-general, and the repeated efforts of Johnston backed by many of his subordinates, to have Hill returned to the command of a corps, were refused up to the last campaign of Johnston in North Carolina."

The State had only six major-generals. General Whiting was not a North Carolinian when he was appointed to that office, nor at any other time. He was born in Mississippi, educated in Boston and at Georgetown College and at West Point. He tendered his services to the State of Georgia and was commissioned, by that State, major of engineers.

North Carolina had only twenty brigadier generals, while South Carolina had twenty-five, Georgia thirty-six, Alabama twenty-eight, and Texas, Louisiana, and Florida, whose combined troops did not number two-thirds of the number furnished by North Carolina, had fifty-six.

The course of North Carolina immediately following her act of secession differed from that of Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas, although, as we have seen, the sentiment and feelings of her people on the question of secession were similar. Those States adopted the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States, simply. They chose to have temporary alliance with that government. But on the very day of the assembling of the North Carolina convention, 20th of May, 1861, after the ordinance of secession had been passed and the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States adopted, an ordinance was introduced for the ratification of the permanent Constitution of that Government. There was strong opposition to the measure, its opponents being led by Governor Graham, a statesman, and deemed by the people of the State, generally, the best equipped man for public service within her borders. It must be understood, however, that he

was not opposing the withdrawal of North Carolina from the Union at that time. He favored that step then and had voted for it in the Convention. But his opposition was to the casting of the State's lot permanently with the Confederacy. There was much discussion until finally, on the 6th of June, after various amendments, some favoring provisional ratification, and others the incorporation in the ordinance, in explicit language, the right on the part of the State to secede or withdraw, without giving any reason therefor and without the consent of the other States, were rejected, an agreement was reached by which the entire text of the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States, itself, was incorporated into the ordinance and made a part of it. The journal of the convention does not contain the grounds on which Governor Graham based his objection, nor do the newspapers of the time give them in full. But in Mr. Montford McGehee's address on the "Life and Character of William A. Graham," delivered in Raleigh before the bench and bar of the Supreme Court, July 18, 1876, the speaker said in reference to Gov. Graham's action: "In the perilous career upon which we were about to enter, he was unwilling to surrender the sovereignty of the State into the hands of those whose rash counsels had, in the judgment of the people of North Carolina, precipitated the war. He wished the State to hold her destinies in her own hands, that she might act as exigencies might require. Those who realized the delusive views under which the Government at Richmond acted during the last months of the war will see in this opinion another proof of his wise foresight."

That convention was dominated, however, by Governor Ellis, Mr. A. W. Venable and Mr. Thomas L. Clingman, disunionists, and the latter a United States Senator.

It is easy to see from the records and public documents, to say nothing of personal recollections and traditional accounts, that the connection of North Carolina with the Confederate States was one growing out of the supposed common danger and the necessities of the hour, and not one of congeniality or sympathy. It also appears from the same sources that the people of the State were jealous of their rights, suspicious of encroachment upon them by the Confederate powers, and at the same time determined that they would live under a government of laws and not of men. It was not many months after the Permanent Constitution was adopted before there were murmurings because of alleged favoritism in governmental appointments to office, both civil and military, because of the political opinions of the appointees. The charge was that only those who were original secessionists were recog-

nized. There must have been foundation for this allegation for it was taken notice of by the convention itself in the fall of 1861 and deprecated by resolution of that body. The rejoicings over first Bull Run, the easy-going manner of Gov. Clark, the excitement of mobilizing the troops and the cessation of military operations through the fall and winter kept in abeyance serious complaint. But when the winter was over and the Confederate authorities were aroused from their lethargy to find that in the interval the United States Government had organized in Virginia an army of more than 100,000 men, well disciplined and equipped and ready to march, and that it had become necessary to pass laws of conscription to recruit the Southern armies as well as to keep in the ranks those already in the service whose terms of enlistment were about to expire, open complaint and opposition were heard on all sides. The situation was pressing, the crisis acute, and probably without full consideration laws were enacted by the Congress, on the 16th of March, 1862, conscripting all able-bodied men from eighteen to thirty-five. The ablest constitutional lawyers in the South thought the acts were unconstitutional, that the Government could go no further than to call upon the States for their respective quotas of men, leaving the manner of raising them to the States themselves. That was also Mr. Stephens' view of the law, as well as one of the causes of his disagreement with Mr. Davis. He, with large numbers all through the South, especially in North Carolina and Georgia, declared openly that the Southern cause was doomed hopelessly if it had to depend upon conscription to form its armies. That would seem to be a perfectly true proposition today. But in addition, the conscript laws were harsh and unjust and the methods prescribed for their enforcement infringed every principle of liberty; and their exemptions were so flagrantly unfair to the great body of the people as to call forth opposition and even hatred among the people generally. These laws and the spirit which dictated their enactment were resented in North Carolina and the people in that State were not slow in making their complaints felt. And the opposition grew louder and stronger as the war progressed and as the loss of life and property increased. Under its baneful enforcement and its system of exemptions, and by the appointment by the executive and legislative departments of men of influence and wealth to places of safety and obscurity, it was seldom that there could be seen in the ranks, with a musket, a man from that class of the people. As an evidence of how these favoritisms and exemptions were carried on, some extracts from a letter written by General Bragg, General D. H. Hill, General Polk, General Stewart, General Cleburne and other distinguished Confederate soldiers on July 25, 1863, to General Cooper,

adjutant and inspector general may be cited: They wrote, "to their lasting reproach upon their manhood, hearty, vigorous young men rather than take the field, eagerly seek fancy duty which could be performed by women or disabled soldiers. And again another heavy source of depletion to the army cannot be passed over. The friends of timid and effeminate young men are constantly beseiging the war department through congressional and other agents to get soldiers in the army placed upon details or transferred to safe places. The aggregate loss to the army from this cause alone is most enormous." And once more, "but we especially deplore that unfortunate provision of the exemption bill which has allowed more than 150,000 soldiers to employ substitutes, and we express our honest conviction that not one in a hundred of these substitutes is now in the service."

The people of this State not only opposed the conscript and exemption laws but they were incensed at the discrimination made by the Confederate government against them in its enforcement. In North Carolina, the homes were raked as by a fine-tooth comb. The law was not only rigidly enforced, but thoroughly. In no other State was that the case. In parts of Virginia there was enforcement and in Georgia and South Carolina it was partially carried out, but in the other States enforcement was a failure. The captions of reports to the government on conscription, made by enrolling officers from several of the States are misleading. The large number of conscripts mentioned by General Pillow as having been sent to the western army were not recruits but deserters and absentees without leave.

The execution in the main of the conscription laws in North Carolina was devolved upon Governor Vance, who was inaugurated on the 8th of September, 1862. The character of Governor Vance is so well portrayed by his biographer, Mr. Clement Dowd, that I use it for my purpose here. The author writes, "His temper was admirable, calm, well balanced, serene. * * * He was never confused, rarely impatient, seldom nervous and never weak.* * * Suffering touched him to the quick. He was compassion itself to distress. * * * He had deep, profound impulses, strong and passionate resentments; in the heat of conflict he was inexorable, but his generosity, his magnanimity, his sense of justice were deeper and stronger and better than the few passions of his proud nature."

He was one of the people in aspiration, in ambitions and in sympathies, and he loved the State with a constant affection.

The Chief Executive of the Confederate States, Mr. Jefferson Davis, was both a statesman and a politician. He was scholarly in his tastes and his well chosen library was filled with books, mostly English as

contra-distinguished from miscellaneous, but he was practical in his methods and thoughts. He had many noble traits, but lacked one of the fundamentals, the true sense of practical justice. This proceeded, probably from an infirmity of temper which his admirers called firmness, his acquaintances, obstinacy, and his enemies, tyranny. He was never in touch with the great body of people and his name held no charm for the soldiers of the South. He once wrote, "Our slaves sustain the happiest relation that labor can sustain to capital. It is a paternal institution." He was not the one to lead the Southern revolt.

Governor Vance in the beginning of his administration determined, certainly, upon maintaining the supremacy of the law over the military; upon contriving provision for the soldiers in the field and their families at home, and upon lightening the burdens imposed by the war and ameliorating the harshness of the enforcement of the conscription laws.

Governor Vance's State policy naturally and inevitably led to conflicts with the Confederate authorities. The enforcement of the conscript laws by the Confederate government, through its own officers, meant despotism. Such an undertaking under like circumstances was never known before in the annals of time. A war raised on a revolt against alleged unbearable wrongs and oppressions, the revolutionists shouting the slogan, we fight for our homes and our firesides, our wives and our children, and calling upon God and the nations to frown upon their enemies for their cruelties and oppressions, to be after a year's time left for its support on conscripted soldiers, alone, was never heard of before. The jails and the prisons throughout the land were filled with the unhappy victims of the scheme. Detectives, special guards, even blood hounds, were all employed in the search, and railroad conductors and other trainmen were authorized to inspect their trains and to arrest and deliver to the military authorities all between the prescribed ages who could not show furloughs or passports. General Howell Cobb, he who presided over the convention at Montgomery, wrote to the Secretary of War as follows: "It would require the whole army to enforce the conscript law if the same state of things exists throughout the Confederacy as I know is the case in Georgia and Alabama and I may add Tennessee." There came, as was to be anticipated, clashes between the State courts of North Carolina and the Confederate authorities over the illegal seizure by the enrolling officers of citizens of the State, the military officers claiming to decide the question of jurisdiction themselves. Governor Vance determined that the Supreme Court of North Carolina was to be the final arbiter in such seizures and that the decisions of that Court should be upheld and enforced; and on two occasions he issued through his adjutant general an order that,

"militia officers are ordered not to arrest any man as a conscript or deserter who may have been discharged by a writ of Habeas Corpus tried before any Judge of the Supreme or Superior Court of this State. They are further ordered to resist any such arrest upon the part of any person not authorized by the legal process of a court having jurisdiction in such cases." Governor Vance only contended for the plain constitutional rights of the people of his State and fought the encroachment of military powers. But for the successful contest that he made the conscription could not have been enforced in this State. It reassured the people and made them willing to submit to lawful authority. Additional friction was produced between the two governments because of the appointment by the Confederate authorities of a commandant of conscripts for our State of a soldier from another State, and the discharge of the duties of that office for several months by that appointee. That whole business was resented by our people and by Governor Vance. He had great trouble in having the policy changed. On this subject he wrote to the secretary of war, January 20, 1863, as follows: "Having furnished as many troops for the service of the Confederacy as any other State, and being, as I was assured by the President, far ahead of all others in the number raised under the conscript law, the people of this State have justly felt mortified in seeing those troops commanded by citizens of other States, to the exclusion of the claims of their own. This feeling is increased and heightened into a very general indignation when it is thus officially announced that North Carolina has no man in her borders fit to command her own conscripts, though scores of her noblest sons and best officers are now at home with mutilated limbs and shattered constitutions."

Probably the most serious breach between the Confederate government and the State government grew out of the purpose of that government to conscript the State officers appointed by Governor Vance. Such an attempt having been made the Governor addressed a letter to Colonel T. P. August, commander of conscripts on the 20th of March, 1863, in which he brought that dispute to a head. He wrote in part as follows: "Zealous as I have been and continue to be in the enforcement of the law, I cannot permit my own officers to be conscripted. The ground I shall assume is, that all State officers and employees necessary to the operation of this government—of which necessity I must judge—shall not be interfered with by the enrolling officers and any attempt to arrest such men will be resisted.

"This I deem not only necessary to the due administration of the government, but due the rights and dignity of the Sovereign State over whose destinies I have the honor to preside."

The appointment by the quartermaster general of the Confederate States of a soldier from Norfolk, Virginia, to the chief collectorship of the tax in kind in this State gave great offense and caused Governor Vance to enter a vigorous protest in writing to President Davis himself. In that letter he said "a great deal of harm has been done, and much dissatisfaction excited by the appointment of citizens of other States to offices and positions here that should of right be filled by our own people." * * * And he asked that a different appointment be made.

At the end of the year 1863, there undoubtedly was in North Carolina very great dissatisfaction with reference to the administration of the Confederate government. A great majority of the people, including a very great number of the most intelligent and responsible, thought that the time had arrived when the question of peace with the United States government should be considered. It was thought that the contest was hopeless after the surrender of Vicksburg and the defeat of the army of Northern Virginia at Gettysburg, and that the further effusion of blood and destruction of property should cease. The agitation died for lack of bold leadership, want of organization and fear of the Confederate powers. The bloodiest of all the military campaigns was soon to follow. Governor Vance's series of war speeches to the soldiers of General Lee's army, in the spring of 1864, were truly remarkable, and they enthused the whole army. They infused life and heart into the breast of the despondent soldiers; and the old State continued, to Appomattox, to perform well her part on every field. And she furnished more supplies for Lee's army than almost the entire South in the last months of the war.

But the peace *feeling* and *talk*—there was never any peace *movement*—was watched closely from Richmond, and, before the military campaign was opened, there was being made by Mr. Davis an effort to force his Congress to pass an act, or resolution, for the general suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. Governor Vance became aware (unofficially) of it (the proceedings of the Confederate Congress being always in secret session) and put himself in position to test the constitutionality of the legislation, in our own State courts, and to resist it, if declared to be illegal. He wrote a letter to Mr. Davis protesting against the passage of such a law, on the 9th of February, 1864, that, to the end of time will be interesting to North Carolinians. In part he wrote: "I endeavored, soon after my accession to the Chief Magistracy of North Carolina, to make you aware of both the fact of disaffection in this State and the cause of it. In addition to the many letters to you, I have twice visited Richmond expressly to give you information on this

point. The truth is, as I have often said before, that the great body of our people have been suspected by their government, perhaps because of the reluctance with which they gave up the old Union, and I know you will pardon me for saying that this consciousness of their being suspected has been greatly strengthened by what seems to be a studied exclusion of the anti-secessionists from all the more important offices of the government, even from those promotions in the army which many of them had won by their blood. Was this suspicion just? And was there sufficient effort made to disprove that it existed, if it really did not exist at Richmond? Discussion, it is true, has been unlimited and bitter, and unrelenting criticism upon your administration has been indulged in, but where and when have our people failed you in battle, or withheld either their blood or their vast resources? To what exaction have they not submitted, what draft upon their patriotism have they yet dishonored?"

What steps the constituted authorities of the State may have taken in reference to her relations with the Confederate government after General Lee's surrender and General Sherman's successful invasion of the South, if the catastrophe of a complete collapse had not come so suddenly, can only be conjectured. It is probable that, in conjunction with Virginia, an effort would have been made to restore the State to her former position in the Union. Governor Graham was trying to bring about concerted action with that end in view. In a letter from him to Governor Swain of the 8th of April, 1865, he wrote, "I told him (Governor Vance) I should attend the session of the General Assembly, and, if desired would address them in secret session; that I had confidential conversations with a committee of the Virginia Legislature, which had taken a recess for ten days, and that it was important to act in concert with that body."

The North Carolina Convention of 1865-1866

BY J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, ALUMNI PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

A true convention of the people, in theory the sovereign body of the State, must necessarily originate with the people, or their authorized representatives, uncontrolled by any exterior force, must be limited and bound, within the proper sphere of its action only by the people, and must be answerable only to them. Measured by this test, none of the so-called conventions which met in 1865 and 1866 in the late Confederate States were genuine conventions in a legal or historical sense since they were called into being by provisional governors, appointed by the President of the United States, exercising the war power inherent in his office of commander-in-chief of the armies of the victorious nation. In addition, they were responsible to him and acted under his instructions with their members chosen by only such classes of the voters as he selected and were deprived by the same authority of the services of many persons whom those voters would have chosen as delegates. Finally, with much of their action made well-nigh obligatory, they clearly fail to meet every test usually applied. Yet in spite of this defect, incident, as it must be concluded, to the revolution in progress at the time, to these bodies was intrusted a most important duty; upon them rested a burden of grievous responsibility; and in the maelstrom of conflicting public sentiment, a sentiment everywhere abnormal as a consequence of war, their position was one of infinite difficulty and the political danger from any mistake almost incalculable. That the convention of North Carolina made a few serious errors was an achievement of no little honor, the more remarkable in view of the fact that many of the State's chosen leaders were excluded and a majority of its members were comparatively inexperienced politically. It also speaks volumes for the leadership of the body.

On May 2, 1865, President Johnson began his policy of restoration by the issuance of a proclamation of amnesty and the appointment of William W. Holden as a provisional governor of North Carolina. This appointment carried with it authority to prescribe the necessary rules for calling and assembling a convention, the members of which should be chosen by that portion of the voting population which was loyal to the United States at the time of the election, the test of loyalty being the previous reception of pardon either individually or through the amnesty. This convention was given authority to exercise all powers

necessary to restore the State to her constitutional relations with the United States, and present such a republican form of government as would entitle the State to the guarantee of the United States against invasion, insurrection, and domestic violence. It was also directed to prescribe qualifications for electors and the holders of office.

Acting under this commission, Governor Holden organized a provisional government and took steps to cause the amnesty to be taken as widely as possible. He also recommended the pardon of more than a thousand persons who were excluded from the benefits of the amnesty. This took time and he was criticised for his delay in calling the convention, but with no justice, since his delay made it possible for many to vote who otherwise would have been disqualified for lack of pardon, and the convention was therefore a more representative body.

On the 8th of August, he issued a proclamation ordering the election of delegates to a convention which he called to meet on the second of October. The campaign that followed was almost devoid of interest so quiet was it and so marked by the absence of any discussion of issues. In the minds of the people, there were no issues. The war had forever abolished slavery and with it the right of secession, and while the question of the disposition of the war debt still remained and was a vital one, no one contended that it should be settled at once or that it was necessary for the convention to take action upon it at its first session. The *Standard,* Governor Holden's paper, early in the campaign declared for "the prompt non-recognition of debts contracted by the State in aid of the rebellion," but within the same month it carefully explained that by non-recognition" it meant that the convention should leave the matter untouched.

The election was held without disturbance and on the appointed day the convention met. An unofficial caucus was held the night before and a ballot taken to determine who should be unanimously elected president. Of one hundred and three votes cast, Judge Edwin G. Reade, of Person, received twenty-seven, eleven other candidates headed by Nathaniel Boyden, of Rowan, dividing the rest, and was therefore unanimously elected. The temporary occupant of the chair was Lewis Thompson, of Bertie. Judge Reade had long been eminent at the bar, had served a term in Congress where he won the distinction of being the only Southern member to vote to censure Keitt for his part in the assault of Brooks upon Sumner, had been for a short time a member of the Confederate Senate to fill the unexpired term of George Davis, had been elected to the Superior bench in 1863, and was at the time a justice of the Supreme Court under the provisional government. He was an admirable choice for presiding officer. Upon taking the chair,

he made a very eloquent address, particularly notable for this, which was widely quoted throughout the United States:

> Fellow citizens, we are going home. Let painful reflections upon our late separation and pleasant memories of our early union quicken steps toward the old mansion, that we may grasp hard again the hand of friendship which stands at the door, and sheltered by the old homestead which was built upon a rock and has weathered the storm, enjoy together the long, bright future which awaits us.

As a whole probably, the membership of this convention was less able than that of 1861, but it was by no means lacking in power. Three of its members had been delegates to the convention of 1835. These were Thomas I. Faison, Alfred Dockery, and R. B. Gilliam. Twelve had been members of the secession convention. These were John Berry, Bedford Brown, R. P. Dick, George Howard, Giles Mebane, R. L. Patterson, R. S. Donnell, A. H. Joyce, E. J. Warren, D. H. Starbuck, and W. A. Smith. Two had been in the Confederate Congress, E. G. Reade and G. W. Logan, and two had been Union rangers. Among the members were six of Governor Holden's eight provisional judges, five of his eight provisional solicitors, and two of his personal military staff. A majority were middle-aged, very few being young or very old. The most prominent member and probably the ablest was B. F. Moore of Wake. His record as a Union sympathizer was unbroken, although he was unable to take the "iron-clad" oath, having been a member of the Board of Claims, elected by the convention of 1861. Thomas Settle, Judge George Howard, William Eaton, Jr., Nathaniel Boyden, Edward Conigland, Dennis D. Ferebee, Judge M. E. Manly, and Bedford Brown all took a prominent part in the debates and may be called the leaders of the convention.

The governor's message was very brief, containing but one suggestion, namely, that the Constitution should be amended so as to abolish slavery.

The work of the convention was begun by the appointment of a committee to suggest business for the body. The committee consisted of B. F. Moore, P. H. Winston, William Eaton, Jr., S. F. Phillips, M. E. Manly, W. P. Bynum, W. A. Wright, Alfred Dockery, and D. D. Ferebee. Its report provided for the appointment of eleven committees to consider the following subjects: the ordinance of secession, the abolition of slavery, revision of the Constitution, the General Assembly, amendments to the Constitution, justices of the peace, acts of the convention, legislature, and courts since 1861, redistricting the State, the submission of ordinances to the people, limitation of the legislature in regard to the indebtedness of the State, and the treasurer's

report. One of these committees, that on revision of the Constitution, deserves particular notice. It was composed of B. F. Moore, William Eaton, Jr., Tod R. Caldwell, and J. M. McCorkle. Very early in the session it became evident that there was a determination on the part of a considerable number of the delegates, notably B. F. Moore, to take advantage of this opportunity to revise the fundamental law, sadly in need of amendment, just as some of their predecessors in the convention of 1861 had sought to do. It was, however, informally determined that all matters of the sort should be delayed until the second session which was planned from the beginning.

In spite of the apparent unanimity which characterized the opening of the convention, sharp differences of opinion became evident when the body began to put into execution the purposes for which it had been called and which were, in brief, to undo the work of the convention of 1861 and, in fully recognizing the results of the war, give assurance for the future—to make true the declaration of Nathaniel Boyden that "neither principalities nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor life, nor death, nor any other creature shall hereafter separate North Carolina from the sisterhood of States." The difference was at first, upon the surface, merely one of method; underneath there was a conflict of sentiment and opinion which was in many respects fundamental. In the manifestation of this difference, the minority had at least the better average of consistency; they displayed, if less adaptability, at least better taste, greater courage, and withal the finer spirit, because they were lacking in bitterness, even when accused, as they presently were, of treason and rebellion by those who, in 1861, without protest, even enthusiastically, had advocated secession as opposed to revolution as proposed by the Union Whigs led by Judge Badger. A shrewd observer of the proceedings of the convention, whose prejudicies might have led him in the other direction, had this to say on the subject: "I was somewhat curious to see the Unionism of Western North Carolina, of which we heard so much during the war. Considerable of it, I am convinced, was less a love for the Union than a personal hatred of those who went into the rebellion." "It needs to be continually borne in mind that much of the 'Unionism' of the State is mere personal bitterness towards Jeff Davis, or Governor Vance, or some less noted secession leader." "For my final judgment with regard to the convention, I adopt the words of Judge Howard, and say that I have 'more faith in those who, without making loud professions of what they have always felt and believed, honestly give up all their past ideas, and avow themselves henceforth good citizens of the United States, than in those whose fierce zeal for

the Union slumbered during all the years of secession, and only broke out in the hour of the triumph of the Union cause,' or, in other words, a conquered Rebel will, to my thinking, be much more easily converted into a good citizen than most of these North Carolina Unionists."

The first indication of division came when the convention began to discuss the abrogation of the ordinance of secession. So far as the end to be attained was concerned, the convention was a unit. Regarding the means, a decided difference was noticeable. On the third day I. W. Jones, of Rowan, introduced an ordinance repealing the ordinance of secession, with a declaration that the convention in no sense endorsed the theory of secession, but wished simply to repeal the ordinance out of consideration for the feelings of their fellow citizens who had believed in it, and from a desire for cordial reconciliation. The same day, Nathaniel Boyden from the committee on the subject reported the following ordinance:

Be it ordained by the delegates of the good people of the State of North Carolina in convention assembled, and it is hereby declared and ordained that the ordinance of the convention of the State of North Carolina, ratified on the 21st day of November, 1789, which adopted the Constitution of the United States, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are now and at all times since the adoption and ratification thereof have been in full force and effect, notwithstanding the supposed ordinance of the 20th of May, 1861, declaring that the same be repealed, rescinded, and abrogated, and the said supposed ordinance is now and hath been at all times null and void.

The Jones ordinance was then tabled indefinitely without discussion. The following day, D. D. Ferebee offered a substitute, differing in form from the draft reported by the committee, and, in fact, embodying a compromise between this and the Jones ordinance. A sharp debate then followed, the opposition to the committee's ordinance being led by Judge Howard. He prefaced his speech with a declaration that he had voted heartily for secession, but, convinced that it was a failure, he was ready to do all in his power to effect a restoration; that so far as the United States was concerned, the ordinance of secession had always been null and void; but to the people of the State it was the charter under which they had lived and carried on a *de facto* government for four years, and he would not wrong them by taking it away. During the period of the war, the State, sustaining its action by arms, was to all intents independent, with all the machinery of government in the full exercise of its functions. If the ordinance of secession had no effect, all acts in the period following were null and void. He denied that the military power, while sustaining a theoretical inde-

pendence of the State, had succeeded in making independence actual for any period, and held that consequently opposition to the ordinance under discussion did not mean hostility to the restoration of the Union. Other members opposed the ordinance on the ground that it was a reflection on the convention of 1861, because the convention was by nature a legislative and not a judicial body.

B. F. Moore, who was the author of the committee's ordinance, said his main reason for favoring it was that through it the right of citizenship in the United States would be retained, and not otherwise. He did not believe that declaring the ordinance of secession null and void would permanently invalidate all acts done during the war, but said that the convention could make them valid by an additional ordinance. A great deal of feeling was shown in the debate by several of those favoring the Committee's ordinance. Judge Warren, who had voted for the ordinance of secession in 1861, declared that the object of the substitute was to "hoodwink" the convention into an endorsement of secession. S. F. Phillips voiced the sentiment of a large number when he said that as the convention of 1861 had expressed an opinion one way, a body of equal rank should register a counter opinion, and as the functions of a convention of the people were both legislative and judicial, it could either repeal or declare null and void the act of a former body. As secession was a creature of the mind and could not, in consequence, be affected by the success or failure of an army, it was necessary to declare against it.

The substitute was rejected by a vote of 94 to 20. The following voted nay: Alexander, Allen, Brown, Conigland, Eaton, Faison, Ferebee, Hanrahan, Howard, Jarvis, Joyner, Kennedy, Manly, McKay, McIver, Mebane, Murphy, Ward, Winborne, and Wright.

The original was then put upon its second reading and passed with nine still voting in the negative. These were Allen, Faison, Ferebee, Howard, Joyner, Manly, McKay, Murphy, and Ward. A few momens later it passed its third reading. Several delegates, including Judge Howard and Neill McKay, voted against it, and a still larger number, including Judge Manly and D. D. Ferebee, declined to vote. Sidney Andrews thus describes the scene:

> It was late in the day and everbody was tired. "Let's suspend the rules and put the ordinance on its passage tonight," cried Settle, the fair, of Rockingham. Nobody objected, the rules were suspended, and the President stood up and demanded in a loud and measured voice, "This ordinance having been three times read, the question is, shall it pass?" Somebody raised the question that, not being an ordinance to amend the Constitution, it did not need three readings and was already passed. Several delegates

vociferated clamorous advice, and Mr. President, new in his duties, stood half bewildered. Settle cut the knot with his sonorous, "It's a good thing, and let's give it three readings, anyhow." So the measured voice again demanded, "Shall the ordinance pass?" There was a strong and exultant "Aye," the clear and emphatic "No" of Howard and McKay, the suggestive silence of Manly and Ferebee—and then the President's word of announcement, "The ordinance is passed."

Judge Howard relates that just before the third reading, Judge Manly and D. D. Ferebee were about to leave the hall but stayed with him. Settle was standing in the aisle and turned and said, "Howard, let it be unanimous. You have already voted." Judge Howard replied with emphasis, "I'll see you damned first."

By this act secession, already dead in North Carolina for some time past, was pronounced never to have had life.

The division appeared again in connection with the abolition of slavery. On the third day, Settle reported an ordinance forever abolishing slavery in the State. A few of the members attempted to have the cause of its abolition inserted as a preamble, but the plan failed, and two days later, the ordinance was passed unanimously. It was then provided that both ordinances should be submitted separately to the people at the next election. An amendment was offered to this, providing that the people should vote on the questions in the words, "Secession" or "No secession," and "Slavery" or "No slavery." This was purely for political purposes and was resented by those who had opposed the anti-secession ordinance. Judge Howard, in opposing the amendment, attacked sharply those who never spoke or acted for the Union until the Confederate cause was lost, and then became proscriptive and vindictive. This was directly aimed at several members of the convention and was applicable to many more.

The two chief objects of the convention were thus accomplished. Other matters of less importance, but still pressing, awaited settlement, and during the next two weeks action was taken upon them. The election of State and county officials, of members of the General Assembly, and of members of Congress was provided for. All laws, passed since 1861, not in conflict with the Federal Constitution and laws, were declared to be in full force, as were judicial decisions and contracts, and the General Assembly was directed to prescribe a scale of depreciation of Confederate currency for application to the latter. Acts of civil and military officers of the State or the Confederate States, in accordance with law, were declared valid, and such officers were relieved of any penalty. The acts of the provisional government were likewise declared valid. All offices, the incumbents of which had taken

the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, were declared vacant. On the strength of *Hoke v. Henderson,* there was some opposition to this but the theory declared in *Butler v. Pennsylvania* prevailed and the Supreme Court of North Carolina in *Mial v. Ellington* has at a later day attested the correctness of their judgment. The State was divided into seven congressional districts, provision was made for a county police force, in spite of some doubt as to the wisdom of the proposition, and the President was petitioned to withdraw colored troops from the State, to proclaim a general amnesty, and to proclaim the people of North Carolina restored to their rights and privileges in the Union under the Constitution.

This completed the necessary work of the convention with the exception of consideration of the war debt. The committee appointed to consider the question recommended its postponement until the second session. An ordinance of repudiation, introduced by Settle, was tabled by a vote of 63 to 50 on the eleventh day of the session. This was in part due to a letter from Dr. R. J. Powell, the State agent at Washington, to Governor Holden, in which an account was given of separate conversations on the subject with every member of the Cabinet. Secretary Stanton refused to discuss the matter, but all the rest agreed that the convention ought not to take any action, at the time, in regard to the debt. This letter was circulated by the Governor himself and read by the majority of the members of the convention.

The matter seemed settled and, so far as can be judged from the press, the people approved. But a surprise was in store for the State and the convention, though not for certain individuals. Governor Holden, who had apparently favored the tabling of Settle's ordinance, either changed his mind or became aware that his views were not in accord with those of the President. Accordingly he telegraphed the latter as follows:

Raleigh, October 19, 1865.

Sir:—Contrary to my expectation, the convention has involved itself in a bitter discussion of the State debt made in aid of the rebellion. A continuance of this discussion will greatly excite the people and retard the work of reconstruction. Our people are believed to be against assuming the debt by a large majority. Is it not advisable that our Convention, like that of Alabama, should positively ignore this debt now and forever? Please answer at once.

W. W. Holden.

So far as this implied that a bitter discussion had occupied the formal proceedings of the convention, it was untrue. The whole matter had been tabled on October 13th with no prospect of any further action upon it during the session. The discussion had never been bitter and

had been very brief. The next day, Governor Holden sent to the convention the President's reply:

WASHINGTON CITY, October 18, 1865.

W. W. HOLDEN, *Provisional Governor*:—Every dollar of the State debt, created to aid the rebellion against the United States, should be repudiated, finally and forever. The great mass of the people should not be taxed to aid in carrying on a rebellion which they, in fact, if left to themselves, were opposed to. Let those who have given their means for the obligations of the State, look to that power they tried to establish in violation of law, Constitution, and the will of the people. They must meet their fate. It is their misfortune and they cannot be recognized by the people of any State professing themselves loyal to the government of the United States in the Union.

I repeat, that the loyal people of North Carolina should be exonerated from the payment of every dollar of indebtedness created to aid in carrying on the rebellion. I trust and hope that the people of North Carolina will wash their hands of everything that partakes in the slightest degree of the rebellion which has been so recently crushed by the strong arm of the government in carrying out the obligations imposed by the Constitution of the Union.

ANDREW JOHNSON,
President United States.

This telegram changed the sentiment of the convention. D. F. Caldwell said his opinion was changed by the knowledge of the President's desire and that he favored immediate repudiation. B. F. Moore, who had taken little part in the debate before, now became vehement in his opposition to immediate action. He opposed any acceptance of dictation from the President and criticised him sharply for sending the message. E. W. Brooks made a long and rather bitter speech, favoring repudiation on the ground that, as the object of the debt had been "the persecution of loyal persons," they should not be forced to bear the burden. Eugene Grissom, a close friend of Governor Holden, then moved an amendment to Settle's ordinance, providing for submitting the matter to the people. This was passed, but later reconsidered, and, the convention, deciding not to put the burden of decision upon the people, was rejected. Settle's ordinance was then passed. A protest against its passage was made by William Eaton, who was joined in it by ten other delegates. The ordinance imposed upon the General Assembly the duty of providing, as soon as practicable, for the payment of the State debt not incurred in aid of the war. It further declared all debts and obligations incurred in aid of rebellion void, and removed from the General Assembly all power to provide for their payment. President Johnson was notified of the convention's action in the following letter:

Raleigh, October 20, 1865.

The President of the United States:

Sir:—The convention has adjourned. It promptly repudiated every dollar of the rebel debt and bound all future legislatures not to pay any of it. Your telegram had a most happy effect. The Worth faction is working hard but will be defeated by a large majority. Turner and other contumacious leaders ought to be handled at the proper time. Please pardon no leading man unless you hear from me.

W. W. Holden.

On that day the convention, after passing a resolution of thanks to President Johnson and Governor Holden for their endeavors towards a restoration of the State to its rights in the Union, adjourned to meet again on May 24, 1866.

During the period between the two sessions, a bitter and exciting political campaign was carried on in which Jonathan Worth defeated Provisional Governor Holden for civil governor. He took his seat December 28, 1865. The result of the election made Holden very bitter and he sought earnestly though unsuccessfully to have the election set aside by the President that he might remain in office. A General Assembly was elected which at once ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. A full congressional delegation, J. R. Stubbs, C. C. Clark, T. C. Fuller, Josiah Turner, Bedford Brown, S. H. Walkup, and A. H. Jones, was chosen, who, with William A. Graham and John Pool, the two senators chosen by the legislature, presented themselves in Washington when the Thirty-ninth Congress assembled in December, 1865, but were not admitted to their seats, the Radicals already being determined to conduct Reconstruction themselves for the benefit of the Republican party.

When the convention assembled in May, opposition had developed to its taking any action in regard to the State Constitution. This opposition had a two-fold basis. A large number of lawyers opposed any action on the ground that the convention had been called for special purposes which it had accomplished at its first session, and that it should therefore adjourn *sine die*. Still others desired its dissolution because a large number of its members were supporters of Holden. They based their arguments upon the same reasons as the former class, but a difference is readily discernible. As soon as the convention met, resolutions for adjournment were introduced, declaring that it had no authority from the people, and consequently that any alteration of the fundamental law of the State, further than was required by existing conditions, would be revolutionary and dangerous. Without debate the resolutions were defeated by a vote of 61 to 30. S. F. Phillips at once attempted to secure the passage of a resolution directing a committee to prepare an ordi-

nance calling for a convention of the people to meet in 1871 to amend the Constitution, and providing for the dissolution of the existing body. He argued that as the chief matter of discussion was the question of a new basis of representation, it would be better to wait until the census of 1870 was taken. His resolution, however, was tabled and never acted upon.

Up to this time representation in the State had been based upon federal population. This worked an injustice to the West, and had been the cause of a long contest prior to the war. All efforts to secure a change had failed hitherto, but a new movement now began and was favored by the "straightest sect" or embryo Radical element as it would greatly increase the power of the West where their chief strength lay and might give the control of the next legislature into their hands.

The convention remained in session until late in June. Most of the time was spent in reconstructing the Constitution. The draft as proposed to the convention embodied most of the old instrument, with certain additions and amendments. Its arrangement was the work of B. F. Moore who was the most learned and experienced lawyer in the convention. Throughout the debates he was its strongest defender, and to him was largely due its adoption by the convention. It was provided that the new instrument should be submitted to the people for ratification and the date of the State election was changed to October in order to allow the new Constitution, if adopted, to go into effect. This was a shrewd political move by the "straightest sect" element who thought that by this they would gain control of the Legislature through the changed basis of representation. The influence of this element was much more apparent in the convention than in the General Assembly, but it was not strong enough to overcome the conservative forces. The whole session was marked by a series of compromises; so, if the advantage remained with any particular faction, it cannot be distinguished. The Constitution, as a whole, was not a matter on which the two factions divided, the vote, on its final adoption, being 63 to 30.

As submitted to the people, the Constitution was a more compact instrument than the original, for all the various amendments made from time to time were incorporated in their proper places. The only important change in the Bill of Rights was the addition of clauses prohibiting slavery, prohibiting the quartering of troops upon citizens except under certain laws, and providing that the courts should always be open to every person. The basis of representation for the House of Commons was changed to white population. The office of lieutenant-governor was established. No one could hold the office of governor or lieutenant-governor unless he had been a citizen of the United States for

twenty years, a resident of the State for five years immediately preceding the election, be thirty years of age, and possessed of land in fee to the value of $2,000. Senators were required to be thirty years of age and possess three hundred acres of land in fee or a freehold of not less value than $1,000. Members of the House of Commons were required to have a freehold of one hundred acres or to the value of $300. Five years residence previous to election was required of the members of both houses. None but white persons, that is persons having less than one-sixteenth negro blood were eligible as voters or office-holders. All persons taking office were required to take, besides their official oath, one to support the State Constitution so far as it was not inconsistent with that of the United States. It was provided that no amendment should be made to the Constitution except through a convention. Magistrates were thereafter to be chosen by the people for a term of six years.

In addition to being more compact, the Constitution was clearer and fuller than the existing one. In fact, only one great fault could be found with it, considered in the light of its time, and that defect defeated it. As soon as it was submitted to the people an exceedingly able discussion of the question of ratification began. All the opposition of importance was based on the question of the validity of the action of the convention. Judge Ruffin and Judge Manly were probably the most influential and distinguished of its opponents. The former was opposed to the white basis of representation, but his chief argument was against the authority of the convention. He said that it had no more authority in law than any voluntary assemblage of persons, and on this ground advised the rejection of the Constitution. This involved a doubt of the validity of the convention's actions at its first session, and also raised a question as to the status of the governments of the various Southern States. Thaddeus Stevens later quoted him as an authority on his own position regarding them, saying, "I quote Judge Ruffin, one of the ablest and fairest of secessionists. The Chief Justice is right. Not a rebel State has this day a lawful government." Judge Manly objected to the Constitution itself, and also claimed that, while the convention had a valid existence and authority for the purpose mentioned by the President in his proclamation, it had none for any further action. William A. Graham was also among the number of its opponents.

As might be imagined, B. F. Moore was the strongest defender of the Constitution, or rather of the authority of the convention. Unfortunately, his main argument, a discussion of the war power of the President, and an exceedingly able one, did not appear until after the

Constitution had been rejected. It was written in reply to Judge Ruffin's argument, and while not showing, possibly, as great a respect for and knowledge of constitutional law as that of the former chief justice, it indicated a clearer perception of the changed conditions brought about by the war. Governor Worth also favored ratification, while Holden was a champion of the Constitution and said its rejection would be the worst blow that the President's policy had received. The *Sentinel* favored ratification without any enthusiasm on the subject.

The vote on the question was taken on August 2d, and resulted in the rejection of the Constitution by a majority of 1,982 out of a total vote of 41,122.

The work of the second session is notable in that it was, in a sense, a manifestation of a progressive spirit. The new Constitution was in itself a step in the direction of democracy and that was one reason for its defeat. Viewed from a practical standpoint, its rejection had little historical importance other than for the light it throws on the sentiment of the State, since the cataclysm of 1868 was inevitable. In fact so little did it impress itself upon the mind of the people that about ten years since two members of the convention, still mentally and physically alert, assured an historical investigator that the convention had never so much as considered the question of a new Constitution and that none was ever submitted to the people. This incident is only important as an instance of the utter unreliability of memory as a source for historical investigation when unsupported by contemporary documents.

What shall be said of the place of the convention in our history. Viewed from a severely practical standpoint it was a failure in the same sense that President Johnson's plan of restoration was a failure. But a larger and clearer vision will reveal it in a different light. It did not fail in that by its full and complete acceptance of the generous terms offered by the President, a too much maligned and too little appreciated son of North Carolina, who nevertheless at last seems secure of a high place in history, it proved the entire sincerety and honesty of the profession of the people of North Carolina that the decision of the God of Battles was regarded as final. The convention deserves some praise for what it did; it deserves much more for what it failed to do. I think it means something to us today that in the midst of trial, it kept the faith; that in the face of a great temptation to barter self-respect, it refused "to crook the pregnant hinges of the knee" that thrift might follow fawning.

John Henry Boner—An Appreciation

By Henry Jerome Stockard.

My acquaintance with Boner was made some three years before his death. I met him first when he came to Raleigh in search of a respite from the insidious disease that had fastened upon him, and the close friendship that developed between us in so short a time makes my regret all the keener that I did not know him longer.

From his ancestral home at Salem, N. C., he wandered a devious path. Of his earlier years we have scant record. He received an academic education and entered, we may surmise, upon the printer's trade. He was connected in an editorial way with papers in Salem and Asheville. In 1868 he served as Reading Clerk of the North Carolina Constitutional Convention, and 1869-'70 as Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives. It was during these years that he made the acquaintance of that fine spirit, Theo. H. Hill—an acquaintance that ripened into the tenderest affection. His last volume was dedicated to Hill, and it was through his efforts that the portrait of his friend was painted and hung in the State Library. In 1870 Boner married a relative of Hill, Miss Charlotte A. Smith, of Raleigh, who survives him. She now resides in Winston-Salem, N. C.

Boner was a Republican, and his activity in politics during the rancorous period of Reconstruction made him an alien among his own people. For this reason, presumedly, he left his native State to enter upon the civil service in Washington. He remained in the Government Printing Office for sixteen years, becoming, in 1878, president of the Columbia Typographical Union; but on the return of the Democratic party into power he was discharged on the ground of "offensive partisanship."

About this time his first volume, "Whispering Pines," appeared; and Edmund Clarence Stedman, the poet-critic, recognizing the merit of the collection, wrote the author on hearing of this dismissal, and invited him to come to New York. Through his influence Boner soon found employment in the metropolis. He served on the staff of the "Century Dictionary" and, later, with Stedman himself in preparing his "Library of American Literature." At one time he was Literary Editor of the *New York World;* afterwards he was engaged upon the "Standard Dictionary." On the completion of that work, its publishers engaged him as editor of their widely-known periodical, the *Literary Digest.*

He it was who introduced into that weekly the attractive department of contemporary verse, which is still so well kept up. Because of some immaterial differences between himself and the publishers, he rashly resigned this, the best position he had ever held, and his fortunes from that time declined.

Thrown now with failing health solely upon his literary efforts he found a precarious living. He was forced to appeal to his friends in Washington who, with the aid of his associates in the Authors' Club, of New York, which had honored him fittingly with membership, were successful in having him restored to his former position in Washington. But his strength was not equal to even the light duties provided for him there, and so he was compelled to give them up. The publication of a few of his poems in pamphlet form, and generously subscribed to by his immediate friends, yielded means for a few months' sojourn in North Carolina, and hither he turned, happy in coming

"Back to the Old North State,
Back to the place of his birth,
Back through the pines' collonaded gate
To the dearest spot on earth."

Partly restored, he returned to his desk in January, 1903; but it soon became apparent that the end was drawing swiftly on. He wrote to me about this time. "This is my last Christmas on earth—I know it." With a courage that was an inspiration he struggled on through suffering toward the inevitable, nor did his spirit quail in its presence. He died in Washington, March, 1903, and was buried in the Congressional Cemetary there, the solemn ceremonies being attended by a few of his friends and associates.

In his earlier songs the poet had sung:

"Full many a peaceful place I've seen,
But the most restful spot I know
Is one where thick, dark cedars grow
In an old graveyard cool and green."

He had in mind the old Moravian churchyard at Salem. In another of these poems are the following lines:

"Where'er it be my fate to die
Beneath those trees in whose dark shade
The first loved of my life are laid
I want to lie."

It was to carry out this wish that, mainly through the efforts of the poet's friend, Dr. Marcus Benjamin, the Boner Memorial Association was formed. Some of the leading literary people of America con-

tributed to this movement, among them may be mentioned Henry Abbey, H. M. Alden, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Andrew Carnegie, John Vance Cheney, I. K. Funk, R. W. Gilder, D. C. Gilman, Homer Greene, John Hay, Stephen H. Thayer, Henry Holt, Robert U. Johnson, Clinton Scollard, E. C. Stedman, and F. H. Stoddard. The necessary funds were promptly raised, and in December, 1904, the reinterment, with fitting ceremonies, was made in Salem, N. C. A simple marble slab, bearing an appropriate inscription, marks the grave.

Only members of the Moravian church are allowed burial in that cemetery, and no monument except a simple slab of prescribed size is permitted to be erected. The authorities, however, admitted Boner's remains "to burial in the graveyard here without special permit and without cost except for grave-digging and the usual plain headstone."

While Boner, I believe, conformed to no outward creed, he was at heart a Moravian. And while he made no display of his religion, I must think that

"After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

His poems breathe a Christian spirit all through his life. These lines illustrate:

"God of our nobler fathers, I adore Thee!
Too late I live to dedicate my ways
To Thee divinely, and I can restore Thee
Only a starving soul, but that with praise
That I have set no other god before Thee,
And have despised the Moloch of my days."

When he was in Raleigh on his last visit, one of the ministers of the city called to see him one day; and when the visitor, after a pleasant interview, was preparing to leave, Boner asked him if he was going without a word of prayer. Together they knelt in the little room, and, led by the preacher, they drew near the Throne, we may confidently believe.

He was a man of most pleasing personality, slow to form friendships and slower to sunder them. He clung to his friends with increasing affection. There was not a place for envy in his great, lovable nature; he rejoiced in the triumphs of all; and if he offered criticism it was to inspire to higher achievement. What he wrote in one of his sonnets, "On a Portrait of Poe," may be said as truly of him:

"Thou gentleman, whose blue veins purely ran
Ancestral chastity and noble pride."

He was a critic of keen interpretation: his conclusions were independent, and were founded upon a clear esthetic discernment. He was

endowed by nature for criticism; and his training as proof reader, writer, and editor had equipped him for details. Had he essayed more in this field, his work would have ranked with that of Poe and Stedman.

He was a poet of rare fancy and intellectual force. It was in this realm that he achieved such high success, that he has been styled "North Carolina's first man of letters." The Old North State has brought forth very few verse-writers whose work, even at its best, deserves to be classed as poetry, and the work of these few was rarely at its best. Boner's, however, was almost invariably wrought with exceeding care, and is of such fine quality as to justify his classification in the company of American poets.

The volume of his writings is small, indeed, but in poetry it is not volume that counts toward immortality. Poe will live coextensively with Shakespeare and Dante, while the author of the voluminous "Columbiad"—who was he?

The range of Boner's themes and types, however, is great, and he attained to a perfection of which any poet might feel proud. He touched upon love, joy, faith, hope, death, despair, immortality, patriotism, etc.; and he wrote readily all kinds of verse from the negro's rousing camp-meeting songs to the gravest sonnets. Neither Harris nor Russell ever surpassed "Christmus Times Is Come,"—indeed, it is hardly too much to say this piece of dialect has not yet been equaled. It reveals more truly and clearly the negro's intimate association of the earthly and spiritual than any other single song, and is, therefore, more faithful to the race; for appetite, and emotion mistaken for religion make up the old-time negro. This light spirit is shown also in the "Christmas Toast," "A Boy in the Piney Woods," the latter reminiscent of "life bucolic,"

> "I heard the peals of laughter long and hearty;
> I caught the lusty tuning of the fiddle,
> And leaped the door-step, eager for the frolic."

The same airy touches are seen in other poems; as, for instance, "Sparrows in the Snow," a veritable winter idyl, with its closing couplet:

> "And soon the snow, all tracks and trails,
> Was full of perk, sky-tilted tails."

With this winter piece may be mentioned "Midsummer Noon," a sleep-inducing melody, when

> "Silence is intense
> For opiate perfume's opulence
> Has drowsed the blue-skied land."

But by far the great number, as well as the best, of these descriptive poems—and the same may be said of all Boner's writings—are cadenced in melancholy. "Moonrise in the Pines," "Broken and Desolate," these and many others are examples; and in some of them there seems to be the story of a lost love:

"Ah, fatal roses—never yet
Have they deceived. She drooped and died."

The song, "I Would That I could Quite Forget," with its remembrable lines,

"Remembrance that in anguish saith
There is a sadder thing than death,"—

this, as well as others, bears out such an assumption.

Boner had an abiding love for his native State. Many of his earlier songs are expressive of this feeling, and one of the last he wrote, "The Wanderer Back Home," from which quotation has been made, burns with this same affection. At the height of his career, when he lighted his first fire in "Cricket Lodge," Staten Island, he did not proceed far in his poem celebrating the occasion before these lines crowded upon him for utterance:

"On a green and breezy hill
Overlooking Arthur Kill
And the Orange Mountains blue
In their ever-changing hue—
Here, not far from where the gull
Skims along the Kill von Kull,
Winging to the Upper Bay
Thence the ocean vast to roam,
Here for life's remaining day
I have builded me a home.

"Rather had I hewn my beam
By old Yadkin's gentle stream—
Rather there on wintry days
Felt the cheery lightwood's blaze."

Boner was an ardent admirer of Poe, and in one supreme poem has linked his own name indissolubly with the name of that wizard of melodies. "Poe's Cottage at Fordham," as haunting in phrase as is Swinburne's "Garden of Proserpine," marks, possibly, the height of his achievement; but judged by the loftiest standards of art, he has approached this poem, to say the least, in one or two of his sonnets: "Remembrance," informed, as it is, with pathos sharp as a two-edged sword; and "Time Brings Roses," rising to a faith that becomes prophetic—

these are the products of a cunning hand. All three of these poems will be given later in this discussion.

Richard Watson Gilder, the editor of the *Century Magazine,* pays this fitting tribute to his memory in that periodical for March, 1905:

> "In life's hard fight this poet did his part:
> He was a hero of the mind and heart.
> Now rests his body 'neath his own loved skies,
> And from his grave 'Courage' his spirit cries."

And Edmund Clarence Stedman wrote of him, in words graven upon his tomb, as "That gentlest of minstrels who caught his music from the whispering pines."

"Boner's Lyrics," published since the author's death by the Neale Publishing Company, New York, contains the work of which his mature judgment approved. He prepared this manuscript during his last visit to Raleigh, and honored me by requesting me to write an introduction for the volume. I gave him the result of my attempt and he placed it in its proper place with his own hands.

This book contains forty-three of the sixty-five pieces that composed his "Whispering Pines," together with forty-nine poems written since the appearance of that volume.

Comparing his later work with his earlier, one is struck by the growth of his power and the enlargement of his vision, and yet the difference is due to the process of nature. These poems are evoked by the grave concerns of manhood; those by the buoyant aspirations of youth.

Let me draw this contrast by setting two or three of his later pieces against two or three from "Whispering Pines," all of which have been referred to above.

REMEMBRANCE.

> I think that we retain of our dead friends
> And absent ones no general portraiture;
> That perfect memory does not long endure,
> But fades and fades until our own life ends.
> Unconsciously, forgetfulness attends
> That grief for which there is no other cure,
> But leaves of each lost one some record sure,—
> A look, an act, a tone,—something that lends
> Relief and consolation, not regret.
> Even that poor mother mourning her dead child,
> Whose agonizing eyes with tears are wet,
> Whose bleeding heart cannot be reconciled
> Unto the grave's embrace,—even she shall yet
> Remember only when her babe first smiled.

TIME BRINGS ROSES.

When from my mountain-top of years I gaze
Backward upon the scenes that I have passed,
How pleasant is the view! and yet how vast
The deserts where I thirsted many days!
There, where now hangs that blue and shimmering haze,
And there, and there, my lot with pain was cast,
Hopeless and dark; but always at the last
Deliverance came from unexpected ways.
And now all past grief is as but a dream:
Yet even now there loom before my path
Shadows whose gloomy portent checks my breath.
But shadows are not always what they seem—
God's love sometimes appears to be his wrath,
And his best gift is the white rose of death.

Permit me to introduce here those poignant lines entitled "The Wolf," and let us pause to reflect upon the irony of this belated tribute to his memory instead of the open hand and heart and the generous appreciation so richly his due when he was here and hungering for it.

THE WOLF.

The wolf came sniffling at my door,
But the wolf had prowled on my track before,
And his sniff, sniff, sniff at my lodge door-sill
Only made me laugh at his devilish will.

I stirred my fire and read my book,
And joyed my soul at my ingle-nook.
His sniff and his snarl were always there,
But my heart was not the heart of a hare.

I cursed the beast and drove him away,
But he came with the fall of night each day,
And his sniff, sniff, sniff the whole night through
I could hear between the winds that blew.

And the time came when I laughed no more,
But glanced with fear at my frail lodge-door,
For now I knew that the wolf at bay
Sooner or later would have his way.

The Fates were three, and I was one,
About my life a net was spun;
My soul grew faint in the deadly snare,
And the shrewd wolf knew my heart's despair.

A crash, and my door flew open wide.
My strength was not as the beast's at my side.
That night on my hearthstone cold and bare
He licked his paw and made his lair.

Now, let us compare with these poems of his mature years two of his songs from "Whispering Pines"; one representative of his inimitable dialect; the other, of his abiding love for his native State.

CHRISMUS TIMES IS COME.

Wen de sheppuds watch de sheep on de plain ob Beflehem
(Chrismus times is come)
Dey was 'stonished at de star dat went a-swinging ober dem,
(Chrismus times is come;)
Dey lean upon the sheppud crooks a-shading ob der eyes,
(Chrismus times is come,)
An' dey know the sun ob glory was a-gwine fur to rise,
(Chrismus times is come.)
De wise men walk wid der heads ben' low
Twell dey hear a ban' o' music like dey nebber hear befo',
An' de angels come a-singin' wid de stars in der han's
An' der flamin' wings a-shinin' on de heathun lan's.

De kings ob de earf woke up dat night,
(Chrismus times is come,)
An' der crowns look shabby in der halleluyer light,
(Christmas times is come,)
But de poo' man riz en took his ole hat down,
(Chrismus times is come,)
An' hit look so fine dat he fought it was a crown,
(Chrismus times is come.)
Ole Jordan roll high an' ole Jordan roll low,
An' de star stood still whar de folks had to go,
An' de angels flew away agin a-leavin' arter dem
A blaze road from Juda to de New Jerusalem.

Den pile on de light'ood an' set aroun' de fire,
(Chrismus times is come,)
Rosum up de ole bow an' chune de banjer higher,
(Chrismus times is come;)
Dere's no mo' coonin' ob de log in de night,
(Chrismus times is come,)
O glory to de lam' fur de halleluyer light,
(Chrismus times is come.)
De Chrismus possum am a-bakin' mighty snug,
So han' aroun' de tumbler an' de little yaller jug
Wid de co'ncob stopper, an' de honey in de bowl,
An' a-glory halleluyer an' a-bless your soul.

The following will appeal even more to every North Carolinian, and especially to those of us who were reared in the country.

THE LIGHT'OOD FIRE.

When wintry days are dark and drear
  And all the forest ways grow still,
When grey snow-laden clouds appear
  Along the bleak horizon hill,
When cattle all are snugly penned
  And sheep go huddling close together,
When steady streams of smoke ascend
  From farm-house chimneys—in such weather
  Give me old Carolina's own,
  A great log house, a great hearthstone,
A cheering pipe of cob or briar
And a red, leaping light'ood fire.

When dreary day draws to its close
  And all the silent land is dark,
When Boreas down the chimney blows
  And sparks fly from the crackling bark;
And limbs are bent with snow and sleet
  And owls hoot from the hollow tree,
With hounds asleep about your feet,
  Then is the time for reverie.
  Give me old Carolina's own,
  A hospitable wide hearthstone,
A cheering pipe of cob or briar
And a red, rousing light'ood fire.

The interval between these extremes is filled with all the gradations of song—idyl, ballad, ode, etc.—inspired by the varying degrees of emotion, all finished by an artistic hand, and all well worth a place in the affection of those who love the beautiful in imaginative, rythmical expression.

In conclusion let me read what he himself considered his best work, an estimate in which nearly all concur. Boner told me how he came to write this poem, and, as the circumstances under which any work of art is produced are always interesting, I will give them here.

Poe's cottage at Fordham was offered for sale, and Boner conceived the idea of forming an association for the purpose of purchasing and preserving that notable home. One day he and the poet Stedman visited the place, and as they were returning Boner suggested that his friend and companion write a poem on the subject. Stedman said, "No; you are the man to do it." That night, he said, the idea took such hold upon him that he could not sleep. Snatches of the lines rang through his mind, until he made a light and, propped up in bed, began the composition. Before day he finished the poem as we have it

now. He saw Stedman the next morning and read the lines to him. The distinguished critic was elated and said, in effect, "Do you know, Boner, that you have here a really great poem?" Stedman urged that the verses be sent to the *Century Magazine,* and himself spoke enthusiastically about them to Richard Watson Gilder, who was at that time and who continued up to his death the editor of that periodical. The poem was promptly accepted and appeared in that monthly. Here are the lines:

POE'S COTTAGE AT FORDHAM.

Here lived the soul enchanted
  By melody of song;
Here dwelt the spirit haunted
  By a domoniac throng;
Here sang the lips elated;
Here grief and death were sated;
Here loved and here unmated
  Was he, so frail, so strong.

Here wintry winds and cheerless
  The dying firelight blew
While he whose song was peerless
  Dreamed the drear midnight through,
And from dull embers chilling
Crept shadows darkly filling
The silent place, and thrilling
  His fancies as they grew.

Here, with brow bared to heaven,
  In starry night he stood,
With the lost star of even
  Feeling sad brotherhood.
Here in the sobbing showers
Of dark autumnal hours
He heard suspected powers
  Shriek through the stormy wood.

From visions of Apollo
  And of Astarte's bliss,
He gazed into the hollow
  And hopeless vale of Dis;
And though earth were surrounded
By heaven, it still was mounded
With graves: his soul had sounded
  The dolorous abyss.

Proud, mad, but not defiant,
He touched at heaven and hell;
Fate found a rare soul pliant
And rung her changes well.
Alternately his lyre,
Stranded with strings of fire,
Led earth's most happy choir
Or flashed with Israfel.

No singer of old story,
Luting accustomed lays;
No harper for new glory;
No mendicant for praise,—
He struck high chords and splendid,
Wherein were fiercely blended
Tones that unfinished ended
With his unfinished days.

Here through this lowly portal,
Made sacred by his name,
Unheralded immortal
The mortal went and came.
And fate that then denied him,
And envy that decried him,
And malice that belied him,
Have cenotaphed his fame.

And so, whatever, in the accidents of time, may become of its material structure, Poe's Cottage at Fordham, through the magic of Boner's lines, can never fall into decay. Let it be consumed by the flames, and its ashes blown to the four winds; and let buildings of granite rise upon the site where it stood; when these have crumbled it will then stand upon foundations that cannot be moved, just so sure as "things that are seen are temporal, and things that are not seen are eternal."

North Carolina Bibliography, 1913

BY MISS MINNIE W. LEATHERMAN, SECRETARY OF THE NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY COMMISSION.

There are certain difficulties confronting the compiler of a bibliography of this character. Do you remember the fable of the man who courted two women at the same time? One was young, and the other was somewhat advanced in years. The man's hair was turning gray. Now the elder woman, ashamed to be courted by a man younger than herself, made a point, whenever he visited her, to pull out some of the black hairs. The younger, on the contrary, not wishing to marry an old man, was just as zealous in removing the gray hairs. And so between the two the poor man soon found he hadn't a hair left on his head.

Well, there are some who say that this bibliography should not include books by men and women who, although natives of North Carolina, no longer live in the State. There are others who insist that the works of writers who were not born in the State should not be included, even though they are now living in North Carolina. If both of these classes were excluded, the bibliography would be in very much the same condition as the head of the man with the two sweethearts.

And so I have used the term bibliography in its broadest sense, and have attempted to include the works of all native North Carolinians, whether they are now living in the State or elsewhere; and also the work of writers, who, although not born in North Carolina, have lived here long enough to become identified with the State.

The bibliography is arranged under the following heads:

1. New publications
2. Editions
3. Revisions
4. Continuations and periodical publications

I. NEW PUBLICATIONS

Abbreviations and Symbols: c., copyright; il., illustrated; p., pages; por., portrait; subs., subscription; v., volume. The capital letters, D, O, Q, S, T, refer to the size of the books.

BASSETT, John Spencer. Short history of the United States. O. 900 p. maps. N. Y., Macmillan, 1913. $2.50 net.

BATTLE, Kemp Plummer. History of the University of North Carolina, v. 2, Q. 874 p. il. por. Chapel Hill, K. P. Battle, 1912. $3.00 net.

BOYD, William K., and HAMILTON, J. G. de Roulhac. Syllabus of North Carolina history, 1584-1876. O. 101 p. Durham, Seeman Printery, 1913. 75c.

Dixon, Thomas. The Southerner; a romance of the real Lincoln. D. 543, p., il. N. Y., Appleton, 1913. $1.35 net.

Haywood, Marshall DeLancey. Sir Walter Raleigh; an address originally delivered under the auspices of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, republished by General Julian S. Carr. O. 52, p. Raleigh, Edwards & Broughton, 1913. Paper, gratis.

Heck, Fannie E. In royal service. Richmond, Baptist Foreign Mission Board, 1913. 50c.

Henderson, Archibald. European dramatists. D. il. Cincinnati, Stewart & Kidd, 1913. $1.50 net.

Morehead, John Motley, architect and builder of public works; exercises in connection with presentation to the State by the North Carolina Historical Commission of a bust of Gov. Morehead, Dec. 4, 1912. O. 26 p., il.

Kephart, Horace. Our Southern highlanders. il. N. Y., Outing Publishing Co., 1913. $2.50 net.

Mr. Kephart was born in Pennsylvania but is now living in Bryson City, N. C.

Knight, Edgar Wallace. Influence of reconstruction on education in the South. 100 p. N. Y., Cclumbia University, 1913. (Columbia University, Teachers' College. Contributions to education, No. 60.)

Leon, Louis. Diary of a tar heel Confederate soldier. D. por. 87 p. Charlotte, Stone Publishing Co., 1913. $1.00.

Lyle, Samuel Harley. Brain-shapes. D. 31 p. por. Macon, Randall Printing Co., 1913.

Morley, Margaret Warner. The Carolina mountains. O. 407 p., il. Boston, Houghton, 1913. $3.00 net.

Miss Morley is a native of the middle West but has been living in Tryon, N. C., for several years.

North Carolina Geological Survey. Some facts and figures about North Carolina and her natural resources. Q. 54 p. Geological Survey, 1913. Gratis.

Pell, George Pierce. Pell's forms of pleading and practice for North Carolina. Q. 926 p. Cincinnati, Anderson, 1912.

Reynolds, Robert Rice. Wanderlust. D. 98 p., il. N. Y., Broadway Publishing Co., 1913. $1.00 net.

Smith, Charles Alphonso. What can literature do for me? D. 228 p. N. Y., Doubleday, 1913. $1.00 net.

Spence, Hersey Everett. Reveries in rhyme. D. 120 p. Durham Book & Stationery Co., 1913.

Vermont, Adolph. Esther Wake; or, the Spirit of the Regulators; a play in four acts. O. 74 p. Raleigh, Edwards & Broughton, 1913. 75c.

Weeks, Stephen Beauregard. Select bibliography of North Carolina for schools, libraries and amateurs. S. 23 p. Raleigh, North Carolina Library Commission, 1913. Paper, gratis.

Wood, Edward Jenner. Treatise on pellagra for the general practitioner. O. 391 p., il. N. Y., Appleton, 1912. Subs. $4.00.

II. EDITIONS

CRAVEN, Bruce. Title guaranty law of North Carolina with introduction and notes. D. 108 p. Charlotte, Observer Printing House, 1913. $1.00.

SMITH, Charles Alphonso. Pericles, prince of Tyre. T. 177 p. N. Y., Macmillan, 1913. 25c, 35c, 55c. (Tudor Shakespeare.)

III. REVISIONS

AMIS, Moses N. Historical Raleigh (enlarged and revised edition) with Sketches of Wake county and its important towns. D. 289 p., il. por. Raleigh, Commercial Printing Co., 1913. $1.50; paper, 50c.

FOOTE, William Henry. Sketches of North Carolina.

IV. CONTINUATIONS AND PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

JAMES SPRUNT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton and Henry M. Wagstaff. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina. 50c. each.

v. 11, No. 1. Guess, W. C. County government in colonial North Carolina. 62 p. 1912.

v. 11, No. 2. Nash, Frank. North Carolina constitution of 1776 and its makers; Nixon, J. R. German settlers of Lincoln county and western North Carolina. 60 p. 1912.

v. 12, No. 1. Cooke, C. S. The governor, council and assembly in royal North Carolina; Morgan, L. N. Land tenure in proprietary North Carolina. 63 p. 1912.

v. 12, No. 2. Rand, J. H. The North Carolina Indians. 41 p. 1913.

JOHN LAWSON MONOGRAPHS, edited by Trinity College Historical Society.

v. 3. Boggs, William R. Military Reminiscences—introduction and notes by W. K. Boyd. D. 138 p., por. Durham, Seeman Printery, 1913. $1.00.

TRINITY COLLEGE Historical Society. Historical papers, series 9. 95 p. O. Durham, 1912.

STATE NORMAL & INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE. Bulletin.

v. 3, No. 2. Smith, W. C. Studies in American authors. O. 175 p. por. Gratis.

NORTH CAROLINA. HISTORICAL COMMISSION. Manual of North Carolina—compiled and edited by R. D. W. Connor. D. 318 p. map. Raeligh, Uzzell, 1913. Gratis.

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET. v. 12, Nos. 3-4; v. 13, Nos. 1-2.

NORTH CAROLINA YEAR BOOK and business directory, 1913. D. 452 p. map. Raleigh, News & Observer, 1913. $2.00.

The *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *North Carolina Education*, *North Carolina Library Bulletin*, and the publications of the various colleges and universities have been issued regularly during the year.

The first number of a new magazine, *Skyland, Stories of Picturesque North Carolina*, appeared in June. It is edited by Miss Mae Lucile Smith, of Hendersonville, and published in Charlotte. The subscription price is $1.00 per year.

Rochambeau and the French in America: Why They Came and What They Did

An Address by the French Ambassador, Raleigh, November 21, 1913.

The American war had been for five years in progress; for two years a treaty of alliance, having as sole object "to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the United States," bound us French to the "insurgents"; successes and reverses followed each other in turn: Brooklyn, Trenton, Brandywine, Saratoga. Quite recently the news had come of the double victory at sea and on land of d'Estaing at Grenada, and Paris had been illuminated. The lights were scarcely out when news arrived of the disaster of the same d'Estaing at Savannah. All France felt anxious concerning the issue of a war which had lasted so long and whose end continued to be doubtful.

When, in the first months of 1780, the report went about that a great definitive effort was to be attempted, that it was not this time a question of sending ships to the Americans, but of sending an army, and that the termination of the great drama was near, the enthusiasm was immense. All wanted to take part. There was a prospect of crossing the seas, of succoring a people fighting for a sacred cause, a people of whom all our volunteers praised the virtues; the people led by Washington, and represented in Paris by Franklin. An ardor as of crusaders inflamed the hearts of French youths, and the intended expedition was in fact the most important that France had launched beyond the seas since the distant times of the crusades. The cause was a truly sacred one, the cause of liberty, a magical word which then stirred the hearts of the many. "Why is liberty so rare?" Voltaire was wont to say; "because the most valuable of possessions."

All those who were so lucky as to be allowed to take part in the expedition, were convinced that they would witness memorable, perhaps unique events, and it turned out, indeed, that they were to participate in a campaign which, with that of Hastings, where the fate of England was decided in 1066, that of Bouvines, which made of France in 1214 a great nation, was to be one of the three military actions with widest consequences, in which the French ever took part.

A striking result of this state of mind is that an extraordinary number of those who went noted down their impressions, kept journals, drew sketches. Never perhaps during a military campaign, was so much writing done, nor were so many albums filled with drawings.

Notes, letters, journals, sketches, have come down to us in large numbers, and from all manner of hands: some from chiefs of the army or of the staff like Rochambeau or Chastellux, from a confirmed rake but excellent soldier like Lauzun, from an army chaplain like Abbé Robin, or a quarter-master like Blanchard, and innumerable others.

Many such papers have been published, others have not; so that even after so much has been written on those events, it still remains possible, with the help of new guides and new documents, added to those already known, to follow Washington and Rochambeau once more and in a different company, during the momentous journey which led them from the Hudson to the York River. The Rochambeau papers, used only in part, are preserved in the Library of Congress and they include, among other treasures, a number of letters of George Washington, some with the superscription still preserved: "On public service—To His Excellency, Count de Rochambeau, Williamsburg, Virginia," the whole text, often, in the great chief's characteristic handwriting, clear and steady, neither slow nor hasty, with nothing blurred and nothing omitted, with no trepidation, no abbreviation, the writing of a man with a clear conscience and clear views, superior to fortune, and the convinced partisan, in every circumstance throughout life, of the straight line.

The unprinted journal of one of Rochambeau's aides is equally accessible, and adds to dignified official documents many human touches and a welcome complement of picturesqueness and gaiety, the author being Louis Baron de Closen, a young captain of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment, a lovable man as it seems, an excellent observer and a warm, kindly heart, who took seriously all that pertained to duty and merrily all the rest, especially mishaps.

The British Government has, moreover, most liberally thrown open its archives, so that we can follow today, better than ever before, the plans, preparations and trains of thought of the officers and men within New York and without, in the redoubts at Yorktown and in the French and American trenches around the place.

I.

Lieutenant General Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, aged then fifty-five and Washington's senior by seven years, was in his house in Paris at the beginning of March, 1780, with post horses ready to take him to Rochambeau, his fine castle in Vendomois, still in existence; he was ill and needed rest, when in the midst of the night a messenger arrived from Versailles asking him to go there

at once to receive instructions. The instructions were that, on the pressing demand of the American commander, a small army of selected troops was to be sent to the States and that he was to be at the head of it.

A most difficult, if not quite unprecedented mission this was, implying a crossing of the ocean in spite of the English fleets, fighting in a country practically unknown, in conjunction with men of whom even less was known and whom we had been accustomed to fight rather than befriend, and for a cause which had never before elicited enthusiasm at Versailles, the cause of republican liberty.

This last point was the strangest of all, so much so that even Indian friends of the French in former days asked Rochambeau, when they saw him in America, how it was that his king could think fit to help other people against "their own father," their king. Rochambeau replied that the latter had been too hard on his subjects, that they were right, therefore, in shaking off the yoke, and we in helping them to secure "that natural liberty which God has conferred on man."

In this answer to "Messieurs les Sauvages," an indication is to be found of that which surmounted all obstacles and caused the French nation to stand as a whole, from beginning to end, in favor of the Americans, to applaud a treaty of alliance which, while entailing the gravest risks, forbade us all conquest, and to rejoice enthusiastically at a peace which after a victorious war added nothing to our possessions.

Hatred of England, quickened though it had been by the harsh conditions of the treaty of Paris bereaving us of Canada, in 1763, had much less to do with it than is sometimes alleged. Such a feeling existed, it is true, in the hearts of some of the leaders, but not of all, and as for the masses, what predominated in their minds, irrespective of any other consideration, was sympathy for men who wanted to fight injustice, and to be free. The cause of the insurgents was popular because it was associated with the notion of liberty; people did not look beyond. It is often forgotten that this time was not in France a period of Anglophobia, but of Anglomania. Necker, so influential, and who then held the purse strings, was an Anglophile; so was Prince de Montbarey, the Minister of War; so was Duke de Lauzun, who put an end for a time to his love affairs and came to America at the head of his famous legion. All that was English was admired, and, when possible, imitated: manners, philosophy, sports, clothes, parliamentary institutions, Shakespeare, just translated by Le Tourneur, with the King and Queen as patrons of the undertaking; but, above all, wrote Count de Ségur, one of Rochambeau's officers, and a future member of the

French Academy, "we were all dreaming of the liberty, at once calm and lofty, enjoyed by the entire body of citizens of Great Britain."

Such is the ever-recurring word. Liberty, philanthropy, natural rights, these were the magic syllables to conjure with. "All France," read we in Grimm and Diderot's correspondence, "was filled with an unbounded love for humanity" and felt a passion for "those exaggerated general maxims which raise the enthusiasm of young men and which would cause them to run to the world's end to help a Laplander or a Hottentot." The ideas of Montesquieu, Voltaire, d'Alembert were in the ascendant, and liberal thinkers saw in the Americans propagandists for their doctrine. General Howe having occupied New York in 1776, Voltaire wrote to d'Alembert: "The troops of Dr. Franklin have been beaten by those of the King of England. Alas! philosophers are being beaten everywhere. Reason and liberty are unwelcome in this world."

An immense aspiration was growing in France for more equality, fewer privileges, simpler lives among the great, less hard ones among the lowly, more accessible knowledge, the free discussion by all of the common interests of all. French masses were becoming more and more thinking masses. One should not forget that, between the end of the American Revolution and the beginning of the French one, only six years elapsed; between the American and the French Constitutions, but four years. At the very time of the Yorktown campaign, Necker was issuing his celebrated *Compte Rendu,* which he addressed, not to the King, but to the Nation; Count Guibert had some time before printed his Essay on Tactics, so full of advanced ideas that it had been suppressed by the authorities, and he had dedicated it not to a man, but to his mother country: "A ma Patrie." Six years after the end of the American war, on January 24, 1789, the King of France ordered the drawing up of the famous *Cahiers,* desiring, he said, that "from the extremities of his kingdom and the most unknown habitations, everyone should be assured of a means of conveying to him his wishes and complaints." And the *Cahiers,* requesting liberties very similar to those of the Americans, came indeed from the remotest parts of France, the work of everybody, of quasi-peasants sometimes, who would offer excuses for their wild orthography and grammar. The notes and letters of the volunteers of our Revolution, sons of peasants or artisans, surprise us by the mass of general ideas and views which abound in them. It was not, therefore, a statement of small import that Franklin had conveyed to Congress when he wrote from France: "The united bent of the nation is manifestly in our favour." And he deplored else-

where that some could think that an appeal to France's own interest was good policy: "Telling them their commerce will be advantaged by our success and that it is their *interest* to help us, seems as much as to say, 'Help us and we shall not be obliged to you.' Such indiscreet and improper language has been sometimes held here by some of our people and produced no good effect." The truth is, he said also, that "this nation is fond of glory, particularly that of protecting the oppressed."

Another striking trait in the numerous French accounts which have come down to us of this campaign against the English, is the small space that the English, as a nation, occupy in them. The note that predominates is enthusiasm for the Americans, not hatred for their enemies. "In France," wrote Ségur, "in spite of the habit of a long obedience to arbitrary power, the cause of the American insurgents fixed the attention and excited the interest of all. From every side public opinion was pressing the Royal Government to declare itself in favor of republican liberty and seemed to reproach it for its slowness and timidity." Of any revenge to be taken on the enemy, not a word. "No one among us," he said further, "thought of a revolution in France, but it was rapidly taking place in our minds. Montesquieu had brought to light again the long-buried title-deeds consecrating the rights of the people. Mature men were studying and envying the laws of England."

Summing up the motives of the new crusaders, who were "starting off to the war in the name of philanthropy," he found two: "One quite reasonable and conscientious, the desire to well serve King and country * * * another more unique, a veritable enthusiasm for the cause of American liberty." Ministers hesitated, on account of the immensity of the risk, "but they were, little by little, carried away by the torrent." During the sea voyage only the chiefs knew exactly whither they were going; some officers thought at one time they might have to fight elsewhere than in America. One of Rochambeau's officers, Mathieu Dumas, future minister of war of a future king of Naples called Joseph Bonaparte, confided his misgivings to his journal: "Above all," he wrote, "I had heartily espoused the cause of the independence of the Americans, and I should have felt extreme regret at losing the honor of combating for their liberty." Of the English, again, not a word; what he longed for, like so many others, was less to fight against the English than for the Americans.

Aware of the importance and difficulty of the move it had decided upon, the French Government had looked for a trained soldier, a man of

decision and of sense, one who would understand Washington and be understood by him, and thought it could do no better than to select Rochambeau. It could indeed do no better.

The future Marshal of France had been first destined to priesthood for no other reason than that he was a second son, and he was about to receive the tonsure when his elder brother died, and Bishop de Crussol, who had been supervising Donatien's ecclesiastical studies, came one day to him and said: "You must forget all I have told you up to now; you have become the eldest of your family and you must now serve your country with as much zeal as you would have served God in the ecclesiastical state."

Rochambeau did so. He was appointed an officer and served on his first campaign in Germany at sixteen, fought under Marshal de Saxe, was a colonel at 22 (Washington was to become one also at 22), received at Laufeldt his two first wounds, of which he nearly died. At the head of the famous Auvergne regiment, "Auvergne sans tache" (Auvergne the spotless), as it was called, he took part in the chief battles of the Seven Years War, notably in the victory of Clostercamp where spotless Auvergne had 58 officers and 800 soldiers killed or wounded, the battle made memorable by the episode of the Chevalier d'Assas, who went to his heroic death in the fulfilment of an order given by Rochambeau. The latter was again severely wounded, but leaning on two soldiers he could remain at his post till the day was won. On the opposite side of the same battlefield, were fighting many destined, like Rochambeau himself, to take part in the American war; it was like a preliminary rehearsal of the drama that was to be. At the second battle of Minden, in 1759, where the father of La Fayette was killed, Rochambeau covered the retreat, while in the English ranks Lord Cornwallis was learning his trade, as was too, but less brilliantly, Lord George Germain, the future Colonial Secretary of the Yorktown period. At Johannisberg, in the same war, Clinton, future commander-in-chief at New York, was wounded, while here and there in the French army, such officers distinguished themselves as Bougainville, back from Ticonderoga, and not yet a sailor, Chastellux, already a colonel, not yet an academician, and my predecessor La Luzerne, not yet a diplomat, who was to be the second minister ever accredited to America where his name is not forgotten.

When still very young, Rochambeau had contracted one of those marriages so numerous in the eighteenth, as in every other century, of which nothing is said in the memoirs and letters of the period, because they were what they should be, happy ones. Every right-minded and

right-hearted man will find less pleasure in the wittiest anecdote told by Lauzun, one of Rochambeau's seconds in America, than in the simple and brief lines written in his old age by the latter: "My good star gave me such a wife as I could desire; she has been for me a cause of constant happiness throughout life, and I hope, on my side, to have made her happy by the tenderest amity, which has never varied an instant during nearly sixty years." The issue of that union, Viscount Rochambeau, from his youth the companion in arms of his father, an officer at fourteen, accompanied him to the States and was, after a career of devotion to his country, to die a general at Leipzig in the "Battle of Nations."

II.

Informed at Versailles of the task he would have to perform, the exact nature of which was kept a secret from the troops themselves now gathered at Brest, Rochambeau set to work at once to get everything in readiness, gathering information, talking with those who knew America and noting down in his register the chief points of their conversations. He also addressed to himself, as a reminder, a number of useful recommendations such as these: "To take with us a quantity of flints, * * * much flour and biscuit; have bricks as ballast for the ships, to be used for ovens; to try to bring with us all we want and not to have to ask from the Americans who are themselves in want * * * to have a copy of the Atlas brought from Philadelphia by Mr. de La Fayette * * * to have a portable printing press, like that of Mr. d'Estaing, handy for proclamations * * * siege artillery is indispensable." Some of the notes are of grave import and were not lost sight of throughout the campaign: "Nothing without naval supremacy."

To those intrusted with the care of loading the vessels he recommends that all articles of the same kind be not placed on the same ship, "so that in case of mishap to any ship the whole supply of any kind of provisions be not totally lost."

As to the pay for himself and his officers, he writes to the minister that he leaves that to him: "Neither I nor mine desire anything extravagant; we should like to be able to go to this war at our own expense." But the Government did not want him to be hampered by any lack of funds and allotted him the then considerable sum of 12,000 francs a month, and 4,000 a month to the generals under him.

At Brest, where he now repaired, Rochambeau found that the ships were not so numerous as expected, so that only the first division of his army could embark under command of Chevalier de Ternay. Many

men and officers had to be left behind, as well as all the horses. "I have," Rochambeau writes to Prince de Montbarey, the minister of war, "to part company with two battle horses that I can never replace. I do so with the greatest sorrow, but I do not want to have to reproach myself with their having taken up the room of twenty men who could have embarked in their stead." All go on board at last, "without any overcrowding of the troops; the rule for long journeys having been observed, namely one soldier for every two tons burden."

When all were there, however, forming a total of 5,000 men, the maximum was so truly reached that a number of young men, some belonging to the best known French families, who were arriving from day to day, in the hope of being added to the expedition, had to be sent back. The fleet was already on the high seas when a cutter brought the government's last instructions to Rochambeau. On the boat were two brothers called Berthier: "They have joined us," the General writes to the Minister, "dressed in linen vests and breeches, asking to be admitted as mere sailors. But there was really no place to put them. Those poor young men are interesting and in despair." They had nevertheless, to be sent back, but managed to join the army later, and so it was that Alexander Berthier began in the Yorktown campaign a military career which he was to end as Marshal of France and Prince of Wagram and Neufchatel.

The departure which it was necessary to hasten while the English were not yet ready, was beset with difficulties. Tempests, contrary winds and various mishaps had caused untoward delay, the *Comtesse de Noailles* and the *Conquérant* had come into collision and had had to be repaired. "Luckily," wrote Rochambeau to Montbarey, with his usual good humor, "it rains also on Portsmouth." At last, on the second of May, 1780, the fleet of seven ships of the line and two frigates conveying thirty-six transports, weighed anchor for good: "We shall have the start of Graves," the General wrote again, "for he will have to use the same wind to leave Portsmouth," and he added, with a touch of emotion at this solemn moment: "I recommend this expedition to the friendship of my dear old comrade and to his zeal for the good of the State."

At sea now for a long voyage, two or three months perhaps, with the prospect of calms, of storms, of untoward encounters, of scurvy for the troops. On board the big *Duc de Bourgogne* of eighty guns, with Admiral de Ternay, Rochambeau adds now and then paragraphs to a long report which is a kind of journal, assuring the Minister, after the first fortnight, that all is well on board: "We have no men sick other

than those which the sea makes so, among whom the Marquis de Laval and my son play the most conspicuous part." He prepares his general instructions to the troops.

On board the smaller craft life was harder and numerous unflattering descriptions have come down to us in the journals kept by so many officers of the army, especially in that of the afore-mentioned young captain, Louis Baron de Closen, later one of the aides of Rochambeau.

He confesses, but with no undue insistence, that he was saddened at first to some extent at the prospect of an absence that might be a long one, particularly when thinking "of a charming young fiancée, full of wit and grace. * * * My profession, however, does not allow me to yield too much to sensibility; so I am now perfectly resigned." He was assigned to the *Comtesse de Noailles,* of 300 tons (the *Ecureuil,* that kept her company, was of only 180). Each officer had received 50 francs for extra purchases; they found it was little, but when they had made their purchases they found that it had been much, so great was the difficulty in stowing their possessions on the ship.

Owing to the crew being partly Bretons and partly Provencals, they understood with difficulty orders given them in French; hence the collision with the *Conquérant,* luckily repaired in twenty-four hours, with the exception of the "charming countess" adorning the prow of the ship; her head had been carried away and could not be replaced; so she continued with no head, "like so many other countesses," observes our captain.

Everyday life now begins on board the ship; there is scarcely breathing space, and what people breathe is made unpleasant by all sorts of "exhalations" from the ship, the thick packed masses of humanity on board and "a few dogs." There is very little space to eat or sleep. But Closen soon gets accustomed, he stands the sea very well, room or no room, he eats and sleeps abundantly and now begins to study life "on board those *sabots* so detested by anyone who is not a sailor." He learns how to make nautical observations, examines his companions, and notes that the captain seems to have strange religious ideas, usually ending the day by the singing of a hymn to the Blessed Virgin, which he interrupts to swear at his sailors in most unchristian fashion.

Various incidents break the monotony of the journey. On the 18th of June the *Surveillante* captures an English corsair, which is a joy, but they learn from it the fall of Charleston and the surrender of Lincoln, which is no joy. Their sailing being not very rapid they take to fishing and capture flying fishes which are "delicious, fried in butter like gudgeons." An occasion offers to fight six English men of

war; Ternay exchanges with them a few shots, and very wisely leaves them alone, heading for Newport in accordance with his instructions which ordered him to convoy safely Rochambeau's army and think of nothing else. All the young officers were, of course, loud in their denunciations of such a conscientious admiral.

The event, however, fully justified Ternay, for Graves, whose mission it had been to intercept him and his slow and heavy convoy, missed his opportunity by twenty-four hours only, reaching New York, where he joined forces with Arbuthnot, just as our own ships were safe at Newport. The slightest delay on Ternay's part might have been fatal.

The more so since, when nearing the coast our fleet had fallen into fogs: "Nothing so sad and dangerous at sea as fogs," Closen sententiously writes; "besides the difficulty of avoiding collisions in so numerous a fleet, each vessel, in order to avoid them, tries to gain space, thus one may chance to get too far from the center. The standing orders are had, in view of avoiding those inconveniences, were to beat the drums every quarter of an hour or fire petards. The men of war fired their guns or sent rockets. The speed limit was three knots during the fog." In spite of all which the *Ile de France* was lost and there was great anxiety, but she appeared again later quite safe, at Boston.

The landing orders of Rochambeau, making known now to all concerned the intentions of the Government, were clear and peremptory:

"The troops which His Majesty is sending to America are auxiliary to those of the United States, his allies, and placed under the orders of General Washington, to whom the honors of a Marshal of France will be rendered. The same with the President of Congress. * * * In case of an equality of rank and duration of service, the American officer will take command. * * * The troops of the King will yield the right side to the allies; French troops will add black to their cockades, black being the color of the United States," and some such hats, with black and white cockades, are still preserved at Fraunces' tavern, New York. "The intention of His Majesty," the General continues, "is that there be perfect concert and harmony between the Generals and officers of the two nations. The severest discipline will be observed. * * * It is forbidden to take a bit of wood, a sheaf of straw, any kind of vegetables, except amicably and in paying."

The army, but not the fleet, was placed under the supreme command of Washington, who was considered to outrank any of the French officers. Ternay's instructions specified, however, that although he was not under the direct orders of Washington, he must not fail to under-

stand that it would be his duty "to proffer all assistance that might facilitate the operations of the United States."

III.

On the 11th day of July the fleet reached Newport, after seventy days at sea, which was longer than Columbus had taken on his first voyage, but which was nothing extraordinary. Abbé Robin, a chaplain of the army, arrived later, after a journey of eighty-five days, none the less filled with admiration for those "enormous machines with which men master the waves"—a very minute enormity from our modern point of view. "There were among the land troops," says Closen, "endless shouts of joy" at the prospect of being on terra firma again. Scurvy had afflicted them as usual; six or seven hundred soldiers and one thousand sailors were suffering from it; some had died.

They were now confronted by the unknown. What would that unknown be? Rochambeau had only his first division with him; would he be attacked at once by the English who disposed of superior naval and land forces about New York? And what would be the attitude of the Americans themselves? Everybody was for them in France, but few people had a real knowledge of them. La Fayette had, but he was young and enthusiastic. Would the inhabitants, would their leader Washington, would their army answer his description? The game was moreover a difficult one, and had to be played on an immense chessboard, including North and South, Boston, New York, Charleston, and the Chesapeake, including even "the isles," that is, the West Indies; and what took place there, which might have so much importance for continental operations, had constantly to be guessed or imagined, for lack of news. The reputation of the French was, up to then in America, such as hostile English books and caricatures had made it. "It is difficult to imagine," wrote Abbé Robin, "the idea Americans entertained about the French before the war. They considered them as a kind of light, brittle, queer-shapen mechanisms, only busy frizzling their hair and painting their faces, without faith or morals." How would thousands of such mechanisms be received?

With his usual clear-headedness, Rochambeau did at once the necessary thing on each point. To begin with, in case of an English attack, which was at first expected every day, "he had," wrote one of his companions, Mathieu Dumas, "batteries of heavy artillery and mortars erected along the channel with furnaces to heat the balls." During "the first six days," says Closen, "we were not quite at our ease, but Messieurs

les Anglais showed us great consideration and we suffered from nothing worse than grave anxieties." After the second week, Rochambeau could write home that if Clinton appeared he would be well received. Shortly after, he feels sorry the visit is delayed; later, when his own second division, so ardently desired, did not appear, he writes to the war minister: "In two words, sir Henry Clinton and I are very punctilious and the question is between us who will first call on the other. If we do not get up earlier in the morning than the English and the reinforcements they expect from Europe reach them before our second division arrive, they will pay us a visit that I should prefer to pay them in New York."

Concerning the reputation of the French, Rochambeau and his officers were in perfect accord: it would change if an exemplary discipline were maintained throughout the campaign. There is nothing the chief paid more attention to than this, nor with more complete success. Writing to Prince de Montbarey a month after the landing, Rochambeau says: "I can answer for the discipline of the army; not a man has left his camp, not a cabbage has been stolen, not a complaint has been heard." To the President of Congress he had written a few days before: "I hope that account will have been rendered to Your Excellency of the discipline observed by the French troops; there has not been one complaint; not a man has missed a roll call. We are your brothers and we shall act as such with you; we shall fight your enemies by your side as if we were one and the same nation." Mentioning in his memoirs the visit of certain "savages" who had been formerly under French rule and persisted in remaining friendly to us, he adds: "The sight of guns, troops and military exercises caused them no surprise; but they were greatly astonished to see apple trees with their apples upon them overhanging the soldiers' tents." "This result," he concludes, "was due not only to the zeal of officers, but more than anything else to the good disposition of the soldiers, which never failed."

With the French officers in the West Indies, most of them former companions in arms and personal friends, Rochambeau, as soon as he had landed, began to correspond. The letters thus exchanged, generally unpublished, give a vivid picture of the life led then in the isles. Cut off from the world, most of the time, not knowing what was taking place in France, in America, on the sea, or even sometimes on the neighboring island, unaware of the whereabouts of Rodney, having to guess which place he might try to storm and which they should therefore garrison, these men, suffering from fevers, having now and then their ships scattered by cyclones, played to their credit and with

perfect good humor, their difficult game of hide and seek. They send their letters in duplicate and triplicate, by chance boats, give news of the French court when they have any, and learn after a year's delay that their letters of October, 1780, have been duly received by Rochambeau in June, 1781. The Marquis de Bouillé, who was to cover himself with glory at Brimstone Hill and is now chiefly remembered for the part he played in Louis XVIth's flight to Varennes, writes most affectionately and does not forget to convey the compliments of his brave wife who had accompanied him to Martinique; Marquis de Saint-Simon, so famous since as the founder of the Saint-Simonian sect and the first philosophical master of Auguste Comte, writes from San Domingo to say how much he would like to go and fight under Rochambeau on the continent: "I would be delighted to be under your orders and to give up for that the command in chief I enjoy here." And he supplies him, in the same unpublished letter, with a most interesting account of Cuba, just visited by him: "This colony has an air of importance far superior to any of ours, inhabited as it is by all the owners of the land, so that the city (Havana) looks rather a European than a colonial one; society is numerous and seems opulent. If Spain would extend and facilitate the trade of Cuba the island would become exceedingly rich in little time. But prohibitory laws are so harsh and penalties so rigorous that they cramp industry everywhere."

A postscript in the same letter shows better than anything else what was the common feeling among officers towards Rochambeau: "Montbrun," writes St.-Simon, "who has been suffering from the fever for a long time, asks me to assure you of his respectful attachment, and says that he has written you twice, that your silence afflicts him very much and that a token of friendship and remembrance from you would be for him the best of febrifuges. All your former subordinates of Auvergne think the same and have the same attachment for you, in which respect I yield to none."

The staunch devotion of Rochambeau to his duties as a soldier, his personal disinterestedness, his cool-headedness and energy as a leader, his good humor in the midst of troubles had secured for him the devotion of many, while his brusquery, his peremptoriness, the severity which veiled his real warmth of heart whenever the service was at stake, won him a goodly number of enemies, the latter very generally of less worth as men than the former. In the affectionate letter by which he made up early differences with "his son La Fayette," shortly after his arrival, he observes, concerning his own military career: "If I have been lucky enough to preserve, up to now, the confidence of French

soldiers, I may in conscience declare that I owe it to the fact that out of some fifteen thousand men killed or wounded under my orders * * * not one died in view of my own fame." "He seemed," Ségur said in his Memoirs, "to have been purposely created to understand Washington and be understood by him and to serve with republicans. A friend of order, of laws and of liberty, his example more even than his authority obliged us scrupulously to respect the rights, properties and customs of our allies."

As for Washington, the moment they began exchanging letters, and especially after they became personally acquainted at the Hartford conferences in September, when they tried to draw a first plan for a combined action, a friendship began between the two that was long to survive those eventful years. "From the time we began to correspond directly with one another," Rochambeau wrote much later, "I never ceased to enjoy the soundness of his judgment and the amenity of his style in a very long correspondence which is likely not to end before the end of one of us two."

IV.

Nothing without my second division, Rochambeau thought. He had urged the government in his last letters before leaving France to send it not later than a fortnight after he himself had sailed: "The convoy will cross much more safely now under the guard of two warships," he had written to Montbarey, "than it will in a month with an escort of thirty when the English are ready." But weeks and months went by and no news came of the second division. Washington with his ardent patriotism, La Fayette with his youthful enthusiasm, were pressing Rochambeau to risk all, in order to capture New York, the stronghold of the enemy and chief center of their power. "I fear those Savannahs of which I have seen more than one in my life," the old General would answer, feeling the more anxious that, with the coming of recruits and going of veterans, and the short term enlistments, "Washington would command now 15,000 men, now 5,000." Rochambeau decided in October to send his son to France to remonstrate. As capture was possible and the envoy might have to throw his despatches overboard, young Rochambeau, being blessed with youth and a good memory, had learnt their contents by heart. One of the best sailors of the fleet had been selected to convey him. On account of superior forces mounting guard outside the captain waited for the first night storm that should arise, when the watch was sure to be less strict, started in the midst of one, after having waited for eight days, was recognized, but too late, was chased, had his masts broken, repaired them, and reached Brest safely.

The sailor who did so well on this occasion and who was to meet a tragical death at Vanikoro, bore the name, famous since, of La Pérouse.

Time wore on, a sad time for the American cause. One day the news was that one of the most trusted Generals, famous for his services on land and water, Benedict Arnold, had turned traitor; another day that Gates had been routed at Camden and Kalb killed. In December Ternay died. In January, worse than all, the soldiers of the Pennsylvania line mutinied; unpaid, underfed, kept under the flag long after the time for which they had enlisted had expired, "they went," Closen writes in his journal, "to extremities. In Europe, they would not have waited so long." There was no doubt in fact that the life they had to lead did not closely resemble that which the posters urging enlistment depicted to them, one such poster, preserved in Philadelphia, vaunting, by way of conclusion, "the great advantages which these brave men will have who shall embrace this opportunity of spending a few happy years in viewing the different parts of this beautiful continent, in the honorable and truly respectable character of a soldier, after which he may, if he pleases, return home to his friends with his pockets full of money and his head covered with laurels. God save the United States!"

The danger was great, but brief; tempted by the enemy to change sides and receive full pay, they refused indignantly: "We are honest soldiers, asking justice from our compatriots," they answered; "we are not traitors." On the margin of a French account of those events, published in Paris in 1787, Clinton has scribbled a number of observations hitherto unprinted. They are in French, or something like it. Opposite this statement, the British General has written: *"Est bien dit et c'est dommage qu'il n'est past vrai."* We can not tell, but one thing is sure, namely that in accordance with those words, spoken or not, the rebellious soldiers acted. Owing to Washington's influence, order soon reigned again, but the alarm had been very great, as shown by the instructions handed by the General to Colonel Laurens, now sent by him to Versailles with a mission similar to that of young Rochambeau. The emotion caused by the last events is reflected in them: "The patience of the American army is almost exhausted. * * * The great majority of the inhabitants is still firmly attached to the cause of independence," but that cause may be wrecked if more money, more men and more ships are not immediately supplied by the French ally (January 15, 1781).

While the presence of the American and French troops in the North kept Clinton and his powerful New York garrison immobile where they

were, the situation in the South was becoming worse and worse, with Cornwallis at the head of superior forces, Lord Rawdon holding Charleston and the hated Arnold ravaging Virginia.

Against them the American forces under Greene, La Fayette, and Morgan (who had nearly destroyed Tarleton's cavalry at Cowpens, January 17) were doing their utmost, facing fearful odds. With a handful of men, knowing that the slightest error might be his destruction, young La Fayette, aged twenty-four, far from help and advice, was conducting a campaign in which his pluck, wisdom and tenacity won him the admiration of veterans. Irritated ever to find him on his path Cornwallis was writing a little later to Clinton: "If I can get an opportunity to strike a blow at him without loss of time, I will certainly try it." But La Fayette would not let his adversary thus employ his leisure.

To arrest the progress of Arnold, two French expeditions were sent, taking advantage of moments when access to the sea was not blocked by the English fleet, one in February under Tilly, who pursued Arnold's convoy up the Elizabeth River as high as the draught of his ships permitted, but had to stop and come home, having only captured the *Romulus* of 44 guns, some smaller ships, a quantity of supplies destined for Arnold, and made 550 prisoners; another of more importance under the Chevalier Destouches in March, with part of the French army on board in case a landing were possible. In spite of all precautions, Destouches' intentions were discovered, the English fleet engaged ours; the fight, in which 72 French lost their lives and 112 were wounded, was a creditable one and might easily have ended in disaster, for the enemy had more guns, and several of our ships, on account of their not being copper-lined, were slow; but clever manœuvering, however, compensated those defects. Congress voted thanks, but the situation remained the same. "And now," Closen noted down in his journal, "we have Arnold free to act as he pleases, Virginia desolated by his incursions and M. de La Fayette too weak to do anything but keep on the defensive."

V.

One day, however, something would have to be done, and, in order to be ready, Rochambeau kept his army busy with manœuvres, military exercises, sham warfare and the building of fortifications. As for his officers, he encouraged them to travel, for a large part of the country was free of enemies, and to become better acquainted with these "American brothers," whom they had come to fight for. It was at this period that Chastellux gathered the material for his well-known *Voyage*,

the first edition of which, in a much abbreviated form, was issued by that printing press of the fleet brought over by Rochambeau: "De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre," one reads on the title page. Only twenty-three copies were struck off, the "Imprimerie Royale" of the fleet had obviously no superabundance of types nor of paper. Closen, who, to his joy and surprise, had been made a member of Rochambeau's "family," that is, had been appointed one of his aides, as soon as his new duties left him some leisure, began, with his methodical mind, to study, he tells us, "the constitution of the thirteen States and of the Congress of America," meaning, of course, at that date their several constitutions, which organization, "as time has shown, is well adapted to the national character and has made the happiness of that people so respectable from every point of view." He began after this to examine the products of the soil of Rhode Island, "perhaps one of the prettiest islands on the globe." In winter, knowing now some English, he mixed in society and observed manners. He notices with surprise that, when you come to any gathering of men in America, you must go round, take the hand of each and give it a shake, and with delight that "nature has endowed the ladies of Rhode Island with the handsomest, finest features one can imagine." Let not the ladies of other States be tempted to resent the comparison. One sees later that in each city he visits young Closen is similarly struck and that, more considerate than the shepherd Paris, he somehow manages to refuse the apple to none. On the Boston ladies he is quite enthusiastic, on the Philadelphia ones not less; he finds, however, the latter a little too serious, which he attributes to the presence of Congress in that city.

But above all, the object of my compatriots' curiosity was the great man, the one of whom they had heard so much on the other side, the personification of the new-born ideas of liberty and popular government, George Washington. All wanted to see him, and as soon as permission to travel was granted several managed to reach his camp. Thus it is that Chastellux could draw from life his well-known description of him ending: "Northern America, from Boston to Charleston, is a great book where every page tells his praise." Count de Ségur says that he apprehended his expectations could not be equaled by reality, but they were. "His exterior almost told his story. Simplicity, grandeur, dignity, calm, kindness, firmness shone in his physiognomy as well as in his character. He was of a noble and high stature, his expression was gentle and kindly, his smile pleasing, his manners simple without familiarity. * * * All in him announced the hero of a republic." "I have seen Washington," says Abbé Robin, "the soul and support of one of the greatest revolu-

tions that ever happened. * * * In a country where every individual has a part in supreme authority * * * he has been able to maintain his troops in absolute subordination, render them jealous of his praise, make them fear his very silence." Closen was one day sent with dispatches to the great man and, like all the others, began to worship him. As a consequence of those letters Washington came, on the 6th of March, 1781, to visit the French camp and fleet. He was received with the honors due to a Marshal of France, the ships were dressed, the troops, in their best uniforms, lined the streets from Rochambeau's house to the harbor; the roar and smoke of the guns beneath the sky. Washington saw Destouches' fleet sail for its southern expedition and wished it Godspeed; and after a six days' stay, enlivened by "illuminations, dinners and balls," he left on the 13th. "I can say," we read in Closen's journal, "that he carried away with him the regrets, the attachment, the respect and the veneration of all our army." Summing up his impression he adds: "All in him betokens a great man with an excellent heart. Enough good will never be said of him."

VI.

On the 8th of May, 1781, the *Concorde* arrived at Boston with Count de Barras on board, who was to replace Ternay, and Viscount Rochambeau bringing to his father the unwelcome news that no second division was to be expected. But another piece of news brought by him was of immense import. A new fleet under Count de Grasse had been sent to the West Indies, so that naval supremacy was now possible for us. A large sum for the use of both the French and the American army, had also been sent, "though the times are hard," Vergennes wrote to La Luzerne. As for troops, only 600 French recruits landed at Boston in June. A great effort must now be made, *the* great effort in view of which all the rest had been done, the one which might bring about peace and American liberty or end in definitive failure. All felt the importance and solemnity of the hour. The great question was what should be attempted—the storming of New York or the relief of the South?

The terms of the problem had been amply discussed in letters and conferences between the chiefs, and the discussion still continued. The one who first made up his mind and ceased to hesitate between the respective advantages or disadvantages of the two projects, and who plainly declared that there was but one good plan, which was to reconquer the South, that one, strange to say, was neither Washington nor Rochambeau, and was not in the United States either as a sailor or a soldier, but as a diplomat, and in drawing attention to the fact I am

glad to be performing the honorable duty of a successor towards my wise predecessor La Luzerne. In an unpublished memoir of his sent by him to Rochambeau on May 19, with request that it be placed under the eyes of Washington, he insisted on the necessity of immediate action, and action in the Chesapeake: "It is in the Chesapeake Bay that it seems urgent to convey all the naval forces of the King with such land forces as the Generals will consider appropriate. This change cannot fail to have the most advantageous consequences for the continuation of the campaign," which consequences he points out with singular clear-sightedness.

At the Weathersfield conferences, a few days later, Washington still evinced, and not without some weighty reasons, his preference for an attack on New York, and spoke of the advanced season and "the great waste of men which we have found from experience, in long marches to the southern States." On the 23d of May he was still writing to La Luzerne: "Our object is New York."

La Luzerne, however, kept on insisting. To Rochambeau he wrote on the 1st of June: "The situation of the Southern States becomes every moment more critical * * * and every measure that could be taken for their relief would be of infinite advantage. * * * The situation of the Marquis de La Fayette and that of General Greene is most embarrassing. * * * If Virginia is not helped in time, the English will have reached the goal which they have assigned to themselves in the bold movements attempted by them in the South; they will soon to have really conquered the Southern States. * * * I am going to write to M. de Grasse as you want me to do; on your side, seize every occasion to write to him and multiply the copies of the letters you send him," that is in duplicate and triplicate, for fear of loss or capture. "His coming to the rescue of the oppressed States is not simply desirable; the thing seems to be now of the most pressing necessity." He must not only come, but bring with him all he can find of French troops in our isles: thus would be compensated, to a certain extent, the absence of the second division.

Rochambeau soon agreed, and with his usual wisdom, Washington was not long in doing the same. On the 28th of May the French general had already written to de Grasse asking him to come with every means at his disposal, to bring his whole fleet and not only his fleet, but a supply of money and also all the French land forces he could muster; the desire of Saint-Simon to come and help had, of course, not been forgotten by Rochambeau. He concluded: "The crisis through which America is

passing at this moment is of the severest. The coming of Count de Grasse may be salvation."

Events had so shaped themselves that the fate of the United States and the destinies of more than one nation would be, for a few weeks, in the hands of one man, and one greatly hampered by imperative instructions, obliging him, at a time when there was no steam to command the wind and waves, to be at a fixed date in the West Indies, owing to certain arrangements with Spain. Would he take the risk, and what would be the answer of that temporary arbiter of future events Francois Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, Lieutenant General in the navy, and "chef d'escadre," a sailor who had seen already much service on every sea, in the East and West Indies, with d'Orvilliers at Ushant, with Guichen against Rodney in the Caribbean Sea, a haughty man, it was said, with some friends and many enemies, the one quality of his acknowwledged by friend and foe being his valor. "Our admiral," his sailors were wont to say, "is six foot tall on ordinary days and six foot six on battle days."

What would he do and say? People, in those times, had to take their chance and act in accordance with probabilities. This did Washington and Rochambeau. By the beginning of June all was astir in the northern camp. Soldiers did not know what was contemplated, but obviously it was something great. Young officers exulted. What joy to have at last the prospect of an "active campaign," wrote Closen in his journal, "and to have an occasion to visit other provinces and see the differences in manners, customs, products and trade of our good Americans."

The armies are on the move; they are in the best dispositions, ready to fight or admire, according to circumstances all that turns up: "The country between Providence and Bristol," says Closen, "is charming. We thought we had been transported into Paradise, all the roads being lined with acacias in full bloom, filling the air with their fragrance." Steeples are climbed and "the sight is one of the finest possible." Serpents are somewhat troublesome, but such things will happen, even in Paradise. The heat also is very great and night marches are arranged, beginning at 2 o'clock in the morning; roads at times become muddy paths, where wagons, artillery, carts conveying boats for the crossing of rivers cause great trouble. Poor Abbé Robin unaccustomed to martyrdom, sleeps on the ground under torrential rain, drenched on one side and roasted by a camp fire on the other. Several officers, for the sake of example, discard their horses and walk; some of them, like the Viscount de Noailles, performing on foot the whole distance of 756 miles between Newport and Yorktown. Cases of sickness were rare: "The attention of the superior officers," says Abbé Robin, "very much con-

tributed to this, by the care they took in obliging the soldiers to drink no water without rum in it to remove its noisome qualities." It is not reported that superior officers had to use violence to be obeyed. This precaution, up to a recent date, was still considered a wise one; in the long journeys on foot that we used to take in my youth, our tutor was convinced that no water microbe could resist the addition of a little kirsch. Anyway we resisted the microbes.

On the 7th of July the junction of the two armies which had been following different roads, took place at Phillipsburg. At the receipt of the news, Lord Germain, the British Colonial Secretary, wrote to Clinton in New York: "The junction of the French troops with the Americans will, I am persuaded, soon produce disagreements and discontents, and Mr. Washington will find it necessary to separate them very speedily, either by detaching the Americans to the southward or suffering the French to return to Rhode Island. * * * But I trust before that can happen Lord Cornwallis will have given the loyal inhabitants on both sides of the Chesapeake the opportunity they have so long ago earnestly desired of avowing their principles and standing forth in support of the King's measures." Similar proofs of my Lord's acumen abound in his partly unpublished correspondence. He goes on rejoicing and deducting all the happy consequences which were sure to result from the meeting of the French and American troops, so blandly elated at the prospect as to remind anyone familiar with La Fontaine's fables of Perrette and her milk pot.

Washington in the meantime was reviewing the French troops (July 9) and Rochambeau the American ones, and, a fact which would have greatly surprised Lord Germain, the worse equipped the latter were, the greater the sympathy and admiration among the French for their endurance. "Those brave people," wrote Closen, "it really pained us to see, almost naked, with mere linen vests and trousers, most of them without stockings; but would you believe it? looking very healthy and in the best of spirits." And further on: "I am full of admiration for the American troops. It is unbelievable that troops composed of men of all ages, even of children of fifteen, of blacks and whites, all nearly naked, without money, poorly fed, should walk so well and stand the enemy's fire with such firmness. The calmness of mind and the clever combinations of General Washington, in whom I discover every day new eminent qualities, are already enough known and the whole universe respects and admires him. Certain it is that he is admirable at the head of his army, every member of which considers him as his friend and father." These sentiments which were unanimous in the French

army assuredly did not betoken the clash counted upon by the English Perrette, and more than one of our officers who had, a few years later, to take part in another revolution must have been reminded of the Continental soldiers of '81, as they led to battle, fighting for a similar cause, our volunteers of '92.

VII.

Two unknown factors now were for the Generals the cause of deep concern. What would de Grasse do? What would Clinton do? The wounded officer of Johannisberg, the winner of Charleston, Sir Henry Clinton, former member of Parliament, enjoying great repute, was holding New York, not yet the second city of the world nor even the first of the United States, covering only the lower part of Manhattan, and reduced, owing to the war, to 10,000 inhabitants. But posted there, the English commander threatened the road on which the combined armies had to move. He had at his disposal immense stores, strong fortifications, a powerful fleet to second his movements, and troops equal in number and training to ours.

There are periods in the history of nations when, after a continuous series of misfortunes, when despair would have seemed excusable, suddenly the sky clears and everything turns their way. In the war of American independence, such a period had begun. The armies of Washington and Rochambeau, greatly encumbered with their carts, wagons and artillery, had to pass rivers, to cross mountainous regions: any serious attempt against them might have wrecked their chances, but nothing was tried. It was of the greatest importance that Clinton should, as long as possible, have no intimation of the real plans of the Franco-Americans; everything helped to mislead him: his natural dispositions as well as circumstances. He had an unshakable conviction that the key to the whole situation was New York and that the royal power in America, and he too, Lt.-General Sir Henry Clinton, would stand or fall with that city. Hence his disinclination to leave it and to attempt anything outside. His instructions ordered him to help Cornwallis to his utmost, the plan of the British Court being to conquer the Southern States first and then continue the conquest northwards. But he, on the contrary, was asking Cornwallis to send back some of his troops. And while, as he never ceased to point out afterwards, he was careful to add: "If you could spare them," he also remarked in the same letter: "I confess I could not conceive you would require above 4,000 in a station where General Arnold has represented to me, upon

report of Colonel Simcoe, that 2,000 men would be amply sufficient" (July 8, 1781).

A great source of light, and as it turned out, of confusion also was the intercepting of letters. This constantly happened in those days to the benefit or bewilderment of both parties, on land or at sea. But luck had decidedly turned, and the stars shone propitious for the allies. We captured useful letters and Clinton's misleading ones. It was something of a retribution after he had so often used or tried to use such captures to his advantage: as when having seized an intimate letter of Washington, a passage of which might have given umbrage to Rochambeau, he had it printed in the newspapers. But those two men were not to be ruffled so easily, and all that took place was a frank explanation. Spontaneously acting in the same spirit, La Luzerne had written to Rochambeau concerning Washington and this incident: "I have told all those that have spoken to me of it that I saw nothing in it but the zeal of a good patriot, and a citizen must be very virtuous for his enemies not to find other crimes to reproach him with" (April 13, 1781).

Other treasures had now fallen into the hands of Clinton: a letter of Chastelluz to La Luzerne, speaking very superciliously of his unmanageable chief, Rochambeau, whom at last he, Chastellux, had succeeded in making understand that the thing to do was to besiege New York. Clinton caused that letter to be sent to Rochambeau, "with no view, obviously," writes the latter, "to the preservation of peace in my military family." Rochambeau showed it to Chastellux, threw it into the fire, and left the unfortunate academician "a prey to his remorse,"—and to his ignorance, for he was careful not to undeceive him as to the real plans of the combined army.

A text of the conclusions arrived at in the Weathersfield conferences was no less happily captured by Clinton, and we have seen how clearly Washington had expressed then his reluctance at attempting to strike the chief blow in the south. A letter of Barras to La Luzerne, of May 27, was also intercepted, and as luck would have it, the sailor declared in it his intention to take the fleet, of all places, to Boston (a real project, but abandoned as soon as formed and replaced by another which took him to the Chesapeake). A most important letter of Rochambeau to La Luzerne, explaining the real plan, was thereupon intercepted; it was in cipher and the English managed to decipher it. But as the stars shone propitious to the allies it was only the English in London and not those in New York who could do it, and when the translation reached Clinton at last, he had no longer, for good causes, any doubt as to the real aims of Washington and Rochambeau.

The Colonial Secretary was in the meantime kept in a state of jubilation by so much treasure-trove, and the news forwarded by Clinton to whom he wrote: "The copies of the very important correspondence which so fortunately fell into your hands, inclosed in your dispatch, show the Rebel affairs to be almost desperate, and that nothing but the success of some extraordinary enterprise can give vigor and activity to their cause, and I confess I am well pleased that they have fixed upon New York as the object to be attempted" (July 14, 1781). Clinton acknowledged a little later to Lord Germain, the receipt of a "reinforcement of about 2,400 German troops and recruits," which he was careful to hold tight in New York till the end.

The combined armies had in the meantime done their best to confirm the English commander in such happy dispositions. They had built in the vicinity of New York brick ovens for baking bread for an army, as in view of a long siege. Skirmishes looking like preliminary operations had taken place, in one of which, together with the two Berthiers and Count de Vauban, Closen nearly lost his life in order to save his hat. A camp-proverb about hats had been the cause of his taking the risk. When he returned, "kind Washington," he writes in his journal, "tapped me on the shoulder, saying: 'Dear Baron, this French proverb is not yet known among our army, but your cold behavior during danger will be'" (in English in the original as being the very words of the great man to the young one).

Then on the sudden, on the 18th of August, the two armies raised their camps, disappeared and following unusual roads, moving northwards at first for three marches, suddenly darted south, with all speed, abandoning part of their equipment for the sake of rapidity. The news to be sure, came to Clinton; but since the stars were now propitious, not to him, he chose to conclude, as he wrote to Lord Germain on the 7th of September, "this to be a feint." When he discovered that it was not "a feint" the Franco-American army was beyond reach. "What can be said as to this?" Clinton writes merrily, "try to see better another time," and he draws a pair of spectacles on the margin of his journal.

The march southwards thus continued unhampered, Closen having the happiness to "hear from the lips of General Washington, and on the ground itself, a description of the dispositions taken, the movements and all the incidents of the famous battles of Trenton and Princeton." The young man was now used by the two Generals as their interpreter, so nothing escaped him. The reception at Philadelphia was triumphal, Congress was most courteous, the city was declared superb, with shops "which, for richness and taste, do not yield to the *Petit Dunkerque* in

Paris." Where is now the *Petit Dunkerque?* "Mais ou sont les neiges d'antan?" Women proved admirable, Benezet, the French Quaker, full of wisdom, and La Luzerne, who lived in great state, gave a dinner to 180 guests.

From Philadelphia to Chester, on the 5th of September, Rochambeau and his aides took a boat. As they were nearing the latter city, "we saw in the distance," says Closen, "General Washington shaking his hat and a white handkerchief and showing signs of great joy." Rochambeau had scarcely landed when Washington, usually so cool and composed, fell into his arms; the great news had arrived; de Grasse had come, and while Cornwallis was on the defensive at Yorktown, the French fleet was barring the Chesapeake.

On the receipt of letters from Washington, Rochambeau and La Luzerne, telling him to what extent the fate of the United States was in his hands, the sailor, having "learnt, with much sorrow," he wrote to the latter, "what was the distress of the continent, and the need there was of immediate help," had decided that he would leave nothing undone in their favor. All available ships had been gathered together in the Isles, including some which, having been years away, had received orders to go back to France for repairs; he had had great difficulty in obtaining the money asked for, although he had offered to mortgage for it his castle of Tilly, and the Chevalier de Charitte, in command of the *Bourgogne,* had made a like offer. But at last, thanks to the Spanish Governor at Havana, he had secured the desired amount. He was bringing moreover the Marquis de Saint-Simon with the 3,000 regular troops under his command. De Grasse's only request was that operations be pushed on with the utmost rapidity, as he was bound to be back to the Isles at a fixed date. It can truly be said that no single man risked nor did more for the United States than de Grasse, the single one of the leaders to whom no memorial has been dedicated.

The news spread like wild fire; the camp was merry with songs and shouts; in Philadelphia the joy was indescribable; crowds pressed before the house of La Luzerne, cheering him and his country, while in the streets impromptu orators, standing on chairs, delivered mock funeral orations on the Earl of Cornwallis. "You have," Rochambeau wrote to the admiral, "spread universal joy throughout America, with which she is wild." (September 7, 1781.)

Anxiety was renewed, however, when it was learnt shortly after that the French men-of-way had left the Chesapeake, the entrance to which now remained free. The English fleet, under Graves and Hood, composed of twenty ships and seven frigates, had been signaled on the 5th of

September, and de Grasse, leaving behind him in order to go faster, some of his ships and a number of sailors who were busy on land, had weighed anchor, three-quarters of an hour after sighting the signals, to risk the fight upon which the issue of the campaign, and as it turned out, of the war, was to depend. Six days later he was back; he had had twenty-one officers and 200 sailors killed or wounded, but he had lost no ship, and the enemy's fleet, very much damaged and having lost the *Terrible,* of 74 guns, had been compelled to retreat to New York. Admiral Robert Digby thereupon arrived with naval reinforcements; "yet I do not think," La Luzerne wrote to Rochambeau, "that battle will be offered again. If it is I am not anxious about the result." Nothing was attempted. This "superiority at sea," Tarleton wrote, in his history of the campaign, "proved the strength of the enemies of Great Britain, deranged the plans of her generals, dishcartened the courage of her friends, and finally confirmed the independency of America." "Nothing," Rochambeau had written on his note book at starting, "without the supremecy of the sea." On reëntering the bay, de Grasse had the pleasure to find there another French fleet, that of his friend Barras, who, leaving Newport, going far out on the high seas, then dashing south at a great distance from the coast, had escaped the English and reached the Chesapeake, bringing the heavy siege artillery now indispensable for the last operations. The stars and continued incredibly propitious.

The well known double siege now began, that of Yorktown by Washington and Rochambeau, and that of Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river, which might have afforded a place of retreat to Cornwallis. De Grasse had consented to land, in view of the latter 800 men under Choisy. The two chiefs on the Yorktown side were careful to conduct the operations according to rules, "on account," says Closen, "of the reputation of Cornwallis and the strength of the garrison." Such rules were certainly familiar to Rochambeau whose fifteenth siege this one was. From day to day Cornwallis was more narrowly pressed. As late as the 29th of September he was still full of hope. "I have ventured these two days," he wrote to Clinton, "to look General Washington's whole force in the face in the position on the outside of my works; and I have the pleasure to assure Your Excellency that there was but one wish throughout the whole army, which was that the enemy would advance." A dozen days later the tone was very different. "I have only to repeat that nothing but a direct move to York River, which includes a successful naval action, can save me * * * many of our works are considerably damaged." Lord Germain was, in the meantime, writing to Clinton in his happiest mood, on the 12th of October: "It is a great

satisfaction to me to find * * * that the plan you had concerted for conducting the military operations in that quarter (the Chesapeake) corresponds with what I had suggested." The court, which had no more misgivings than Lord Germain himself, had caused to sail with Digby no less a personage than Prince William, one of the fifteen children of George III and eventually one of his successors as William IV; but his presence could only prove one more encumbrance.

After the familiar incidents of the siege in which the American and French armies displayed similar valor and met with about the same losses, the decisive move of the night attack on the enemy's advanced redoubts had to be made, one of the redoubts to be stormed by the Americans with La Fayette, and the other by the French under Viomesnil. Rochambeau addressed himself especially to the Grenadiers of the regiment of Gatinais, which had been formed with a portion of his old regiment of Auvergne, and said: "My boys, if I need you tonight I hope you will not have forgotten that we have served together in that brave regiment of Auvergne sans tache, spotless Auvergne." They answered that if he would promise to have their former name restored to them he would find they were ready to die to the last. They kept their word, losing one-third of their number, and one of the first requests of Rochambeau when he reached Paris was that their old name be given back to them, which was done. Gatinais thus became Royal Auvergne and is now the 18th Infantry. Concerning the Americans who continued throughout the siege under-clothed, under-fed, underpaid, but just as before brave and cheerful, Rochambeau writes in his memoirs: "This justice must be rendered to the Americans that they behaved with a zeal, a courage, an emulation which left them in no case behind, in all that part of the siege entrusted to them, in spite of their being unaccustomed to sieges."

On the 19th of October, after a loss of not more than three or four hundred men in each of the besieging armies, an act was signed as great in its consequences as any that ever followed the bloodiest battles, the capitulation of Yorktown. It was in a way the ratification of that other act which had been proposed for signature five years before at Philadelphia by men whose fate had more than once, in the interval, seemed desperate, the Act of Independence.

"I shall never forget," says Closen, "how horrible and painful to behold was the aspect of the town of York. * * * One could not walk three steps without finding big holes made by bombs, cannon balls, splinters, barely covered graves, arms and legs of blacks and whites scattered here and there, most of the houses riddled with shot and devoid

of window panes. * * * We found Lord Cornwallis in his house. His attitude evinced the nobility of his soul, his magnanimity and firmness of character. He seemed to say: I have nothing to reproach myself with, I have done my duty and defended myself to the utmost." This impression of Lord Cornwallis was general. As to Closen's description of the state of the little town, now so quiet and almost asleep amid her sand dunes at the foot of the great marble memorial raised by Congress, it is confirmed by Abbé Robin who notices, too: "The quantity of human limbs which infected the air," but also, being an abbé, the number of books scattered among the ruins, many being works of piety and theological controversy, and with them "the works of the famous Pope, and translations of Montaigne's Essays, of 'Gil Blas' and of the 'Essay on women' by Monsieur Thomas" that stern essay, so popular then in America, in which society ladies were invited to fill their soul with those "sentiments of nature which are born in retreat and grow in silence."

Nothing better than what happened on this solemn occasion, puts in its true light the dominant characteristic of the French sentiment throughout the war and shows how, with their new-born enthusiasm for philanthropy and liberty, the French were pro-Americans much more than anti-English. No trace of a triumphant attitude towards a vanquished enemy appeared in anything they did or said on this occasion. They pitied Cornwallis and showed him every consideration; Rochambeau learning that he was without money lent him all he wanted. A friendly correspondence began between the English General and some of the French officers, Viscount de Noailles, the one who had walked all the way, lending him, the week after the capitulation, his copy of the then celebrated work of Count de Guibert on Tactics, which was at that time the talk of Europe, and of which Napoleon said later that "it was such as to form great men," the same Guibert who expected lasting fame from that work and from his military services and who, irony of fate, general and academician though he was, is chiefly remembered as the hero of the letters of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse.

Cornwallis realized quite well that the French had fought for a cause dear to their hearts more than from any desire to humble him or his nation. He publicly rendered full justice to the victors, acknowledging that the fairest treatment had been awarded him by both the Americans and the French. Concerning the latter, in the final report in which he gives his own account of the catastrophe and which he caused to be printed when he reached England, he says: "The kindness and attention that has been shown us by the French officers * * * their deli-

cate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer whenever the fortune of war should put any of them in our power."

The French attitude in the new world proved in perfect accord with the French sentiments in the old one. On hearing of the capture of Cornwallis, of his 8,000 men (of whom 2,000 were in the hospitals), 800 sailors, 214 guns, and 22 flags, the king wrote to Rochambeau: "Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau, The success of my arms flatters me only as being conducive to peace." A circular was sent to all the Bishops of France prescribing that Te Deums be sung in every cathedral and church of the realm. It was a long time since Te Deums for a victory had been heard, and the victory was over those who, not so very long before, had bereft us of Canada. Nothing more significant than the Pastoral Letter of "Louis Apollinaire de la Tour du Pin Montauban, by the Grace of God first Bishop of Nancy, Primate of Lorraine," appointing the date for the thanksgiving ceremonies and adding: "This so important advantage has been the result of the wisest measures. Reason and humanity have gauged it and have placed it far above those memorable but bloody victories whose lustre has been tarnished by almost universal mourning. Here the blood of our allies and of our generous compatriots has been spared, and why should we not note with satisfaction that the forces of our enemies have been considerably weakened, their efforts baffled, the fruits of their immense expense lost, without our having caused rivers of their blood to be spilt, without our having filled their country with unfortunate widows and mothers?" For this, too, as well as for the victory, thanks must be offered; and for this, too, for such a rare and such a humane feeling, the name of Bishop de la Tour du Pin Montauban deserves to be remembered.

VIII.

For one more year, the first part of which he spent at Williamsburg, Rochambeau remained in America; peace was a possibility, not a certainty. King George and his ministers remained stubborn, Lord Germain, especially, to whom the issue of the campaign had given a great shock and who was beseeching Parliament "to proceed with vigor in the prosecution of the war and not leave it in the power of the French to tell the Americans that they had procured their independence and were consequently entitled to a preference, if not an exclusive right in their

trade." This was not to know us well; our treaty of commerce had been signed three years before, at a time when anything would have been granted to propitiate France, but there was not in it one single advantage that was not equally accessible to anyone who chose, the English included. As for King George, he decided that the 8th of February would be a day of national fasting, to ask pardon for past since and impore Heaven's assistance in the prosecution of the war. Little was done, however, save to wait. The French General availed himself of his leisure to visit the country, go fox-hunting, entertain his neighbors, study the manners and resources of the inhabitants, taking note especially of religious toleration prevalent everywhere, of the price of labor (a dollar a day) of how a planter rose in about 20 years from log house to brick house, how men favored English furniture and ladies French fashions, and how the many were at their ease, with well supplied tables, "which the little negro is ever busy laying and clearing." Faithful Closen, who had been proposed for promotion for his gallant conduct at the siege, accompanied him everywhere, and also explored separately on his own account, led sometimes by his fondness for animals, as when he went to visit a colony of beavers, or investigate opossums and raccoons. Out of curiosity he once saw a cock fight, "but the sight is too cruel to give any pleasure." Rochambeau, his son, Closen and another aide, having with them fourteen horses and asking for hospitality on the way (a surprise party which may at times have caused embarrassment), journey to visit Jefferson at Monticello. The "philosopher" is found a most interesting man, possessing many books in spite of a destructive visit of Tarleton and his men, speaking a number of languages and knowing every particular of his country's history. A number of addresses couched in the most touching terms of gratitude are received from Congress, from local Legislatures, Universities and associations of all kinds.

Sent North to carry Rochambeau's answer to Congress and urgent letters to Washington, covering at times more than 100 miles a day, Closen finds time to see, admire and describe "Madame Custis," the "young, charming, and lovely daughter-in-law of General Washington."

As summer is coming, the French army is moved northwards, in view of possible operations. This is for Closen the occasion of a visit to Mount Vernon, where Mrs. Washington entertains the visitor, as well as Count de Custine and several of his officers. Custine, the same who was shortly after to win and lose battles during the French Revolution and die beheaded during the Terror, seized this occasion to offer to Mrs. Washington a set of porcelain which he had had made in a manufacture belonging to him at Niederwiller, near Phalsbourg: "It was," says

Closen, "of the greatest beauty and newest fashion, with the arms of General Washington and his monogram surmounted by a crown of laurel. Mrs. Washington was enchanted." All leave the same evening except Closen, who remained one day more, "being treated with all possible affability by the ladies whose society was beyond expression sweet and delightful to me." The incomparable Mrs. Custis was one of them. He leaves at last, "rather sad."

Moving northwards the French officers notice the extraordinary progress realized since the previous year; burned houses have been rebuilt, new ones have been erected: "There are fifty new ones at Wilmington, all in brick, very large and fine." At Philadelphia, La Luzerne is ready with another magnificent entertainment. A Dauphin has been born to France and a very beautiful hall has been built for the intended banquet by "a French officer serving in the American corps of engineers," L'Enfant by name, the one who now rests under the tall trees in Arlington cemetery, overlooking the Federal city built after his plans.

On the 14th of August Washington and Rochambeau are again together and the American troops are reviewed; they are no longer in tatters; their manœuvers are perfect and the commander-in-chief is visibly delighted to show them at last in such fine array. Everybody compliments him.

In the autumn of 1782 a general parting took place, Rochambeau returning to France and the army being sent to the Isles, believed now to be threatened by the English; for if the war was practically at an end for the Americans on the continent it was not yet the same everywhere, and Suffren especially was prosecuting in the Indies his famous naval campaign which, owing to the lack of means of communication, was to be continued long after peace had been signed. So many friendships had been formed that there was much emotion when the last days came. "On the 18th of October," says Closen, "we took leave of General Washington and of the other officers of our acquaintance. There is no sort of kindness and token of good will we have not received from General Washington; the idea of parting from the French army, probably forever, seemed to cause him real sorrow, having as he had, received the most convincing proofs of the respect, the veneration, the esteem and even the attachment which every individual in the army felt for him."

After having taken leave, "in tenderest fashion," of the American commander, who promised "an enduring fraternal friendship," Rochambeau, carrying with him two bronze field pieces taken at Yorktown, presented by Congress and adorned with inscriptions devised by Wash-

ington, sailed for France on the *Emeraude,* early in January, 1783. An English warship which had been cruising at the entrance of the Chesapeake, nearly captured him, and it was only by throwing overboard her spare masts and part of her artillery that the *Emeraude,* thus become lighter and faster, could escape. The King, the Ministers, the whole country, received the General with acclamations: "The homages of all good Frenchmen go to you," Vergennes had written him. He received the blue ribbon of the Holy Ghost, was appointed Governor of Picardy, and a few years later became Marshal of France. Owing to the proximity of his new post he was able twice to visit England, where he met again his dear La Luzerne, now French Ambassador in London, and his former foe, Admiral Hood, who received him with open arms. But the tokens of friendship which touched him most came from officers of Cornwallis's army: "They manifested," he writes, "in the most public manner their gratitude for the humanity with which they had been treated by the French army after their surrender."

Rochambeau was keeping up with Washington a most affectionate correspondence, still partly unpublished, the great American often reminding him of his "friendship and love" for his "companions in war," discussing a possible visit to France, and describing his life now spent "in rural employments and in contemplation of those friendships which the Revolution enabled me to form with so many worthy characters of your nation through whose assistance I can now sit down in my calm retreat." And he added: "Although it is against the profession of arms, I wish to see all the world at peace" (Mount Vernon, Sept. 7, 1785).

"Much as he may wish to conceal himself and lead the life of a plain man, he will ever be the first citizen of the United States," La Luzerne had written to Vergennes, and the truth of the statement was shown when a unanimous election made of the former Commander-in-chief the first President of the new republic in the year when the States General met in France and our own Revolution began.

Knowing the friendly dispositions of Rochambeau towards Americans, Washington often gave those going abroad letters of introduction to him; one day the man was Gouverneur Morris, so well known afterwards; another day it was a poet. Less sure of his ground when the question was of Parnassus than when it was of battlefields, Washington had described this traveler to La Fayette as being "considered by those who are good judges to be a genius of the first magnitude." To Rochambeau he introduced him as "the author of an admirable poem in which he has worthily celebrated the glory of your nation in general and of yourself in particular" (May 28, 1788). The poet proved to be Joel Bar-

self in particular" (May 28, 1788). The poet proved to be Joel Barlow of Hartford, who was to die in a Polish village in the course of a journey undertaken to present his credentials as United States Minister to the French Sovereign of that day, Napoleon by name, who for momentous reasons happened then to be accessible only in Russia. The poem was the *Vision of Columbus,* in which an angel appears to the navigator in his legendary prison and reveals to him, in Virgilian fashion, the future of America. Washington, Wayne, Greene are thus shown him, as well as

Brave Rochambeau in gleamy steel array'd,

a description which, if brave Rochambeau ever saw it, must have made him smile.

The war of the Austrian Succession had found him already an officer in the French army; the Revolution found him still an officer in the French army, defending the frontier as Commander-in-chief of the northern troops. In 1792, he definitively withdrew to Rochambeau, barely escaping with his life during the Terror. A striking and touching thing it is to note that, when a prisoner in that "horrible sepulchre," the Conciergerie, he appealed to the "Citizen President of the Revolutionary Tribunal," and invoked as a safeguard the great name of Washington, "my colleague and my friend in the war we made together for the liberty of America."

Luckier than many of his companions in arms of the American war, than Lauzun, Custine, d' Estaing, Dillon, and others, Rochambeau escaped the scaffold. He lived long enough to see rise to glory that young man who was teaching the world better military tactics than even the book of Count de Guibert, Bonaparte, now first Consul of the French Republic. Bonaparte had great respect for the old Marshal who was presented to him by the Minister of War in 1803: he received him surrounded by his generals, and as the soldier of Clostercamp and Yorktown entered he said, "Monsieur de Maréchal, here are your pupils"; and the old man answered: "They have surpassed their master."

After having been very near death from his wounds in 1747, Rochambeau died only in 1807, being then in his castle of Rochambeau and aged 82. He was buried in the neighboring village of Thoré, in a tomb the inscription on which, composed by his wife, tells of his virtues as a man and a soldier, and of their enduring love. She herself now sleeps in the same sepulchre, after having survived him seventeen years, and died at the age of 94. If a project I cherish can be fulfilled, an

oak from an acorn gathered at Mount Vernon will one day shade the ashes of the companion in arms of Washington.

Some may perhaps be curious to know what became of Closen. Sent to the Isles with the rest of Rochambeau's army, he continued to collect information with the merriest activity on men, women, plants and animals. He returned to France at the peace with a mass of notes, documents, sketches, a number of stuffed beasts and some live ones. His return to the old country had something magnificent. "And I," we read in his journal, "after having bought a fine coach where I could place, before, behind, on the top, my servants, consisting in a white man and in my faithful and superb black Peter, and with them three monkeys, four parrots and six parrakeets, posted to Paris in this company, a noisy one and difficult to maintain clean and in good order. * * * The next day I was at Saint Pol de Léon, my last quarter before sailing for America, and saw again with hearty rejoicings the respectable Kersabiec family which had so well tended me throughout my convalescence after a deadly disease." He thought he could do no less than present them with one of his parrakeets as a token of "gratitude and friendship."

In Paris, the Minister received him very kindly. The Rochambeau family made him stay at their house; and the journal closes as did the good old novels of yore. Leaving Paris with the promise of a colonelcy, he went home to Deux-Ponts: "Then I found my beautiful fiancée, my dear, my divine Doris, who had had the constancy to keep for me her heart and her hand during the four years of my absence in America, in spite of several proposals received by her, even from men much better endowed with worldly goods, my share consisting only in the before mentioned ministerial promise and in the reputation of an honest man and a good soldier."

I shall only add that the ministerial promise was kept, and that it was as a colonel and a knight of Saint Louis that Closen found himself aide de camp again to his old chief Rochambeau on the northern frontier during the early days of the French Revolution.

These men are no more; their work remains and will keep their memory green forever. The three million Americans of the Rochambeau days have become one hundred million and the flag which floated with ours over the smoking ruins of Yorktown is now respected all over the globe. Those leaders won great fame because they never thought of their fame, but only of accomplishing great deeds. The cause they fought for was a good one, and it soon came to pass that even the ad-

versary acknowledged it to be the cause of justice. Every hostile sentiment has therefore, and quite naturally, long vanished. The three nations that stood in arms at Yorktown, the three whose ancestors had known a hundred years' war, will soon have to celebrate a hundred years' peace. "I wish to see all the world at peace," Washington had written to Rochambeau. So far as the three nations who fought at Yorktown are concerned, for almost a century now, his wish has been fulfilled.

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Rankin, Dr. W. S.....Raleigh
Ray, John E.....Raleigh
Reaves, W. T.....Raleigh

.edwine, Robt. B.....Monroe
.eese, Miss Mattie.....Raleigh
.enfrow, Miss Frances.....Raleigh
.eynolds, Mrs. W. N.....Winston-Salem
icks, R. H.....Rocky Mount
.iddick, W. C.....W. Raleigh
.odman, Miss Lida T.....Washington
.oot, Charles .....Raleigh
.oot, Miss Annie G.....Raleigh
osenthal, G. .....Raleigh
ountree, Judge George.....Wilmington
oyall, George C.....Goldsboro
oyall, W. N.....Wilmington
oyster, Miss Edith.....Raleigh
oyster, Dr. H. A.....Raleigh
oyster, Dr. James F.....Chapel Hill
oyster, Dr. W. I.....Raleigh
uffin, Wm. H.....Louisburg
yburn, Robert L.....Shelby

:ales, A. M.....Greensboro
:henck, Miss Mary A.....Raleigh
:henck, Paul .....Greensboro
hepherd, S. Brown.....Raleigh
herrill, Capt. M. O.....Raleigh
herwood, Mrs. M. B.....Raleigh
hipp, Mrs. M. B.....Raleigh
haffner, Miss C. L.....Winston-Salem
haw, Miss Cornelia.....Davidson
mpson, John A.....Raleigh
edd, Dr. B. F.....Wake Forest
kinner, Col. Harry.....Greenville
mall, Hon. J. H.....Washington
mith, Dr. C. Alphonso.....University, Va.
mith, Dr. Chas. Lee.....Raleigh
mith, Ed. Chambers.....Raleigh
mith, Mrs. Ed. Chambers.....Raleigh
mith, Miss Mary Shannon.....Raleigh
mith, Leroy L.....Gatesville
mith, W. A.....Ansonville
ousley, Miss Gertrude.....Raleigh
outhgate, J. H.....Durham
pence, H. E.....Durham
prunt, W. H.....Wilmington
prunt, James .....Wilmington
anback, J. F.....Raleigh
anback, Mrs. J. F.....Raleigh
ern, David .....Greensboro

Stephens, George ..... Charlotte
Stevens, C. L. ..... Southport
Stevens, Mrs. C. L. ..... Southport
Stevens, Mrs. F. L. ..... Urbana, Ill.
Stone, W. E. ..... Raleigh
Summey, Dr. George, Jr. ..... Raleigh
Swindell, Mrs. E. E. ..... Raleigh

Teague, Mrs. R. J. ..... Roxboro
Terrell, Mrs. M. B. ..... Raleigh
Thompson, D. Matt ..... Statesville
Thornton, M. E. ..... Hickory
Thrash, Mrs. Jacksie D. ..... Tarboro
Timberlake, Julian ..... Raleigh
Toepleman, F. C. ..... Henderson
Turner, Dr. V. E. ..... Raleigh
Turner, Mrs. V. E. ..... Raleigh
Turner, Mrs. T. B. ..... Durham

Utley, Rev. C. H. ..... Cooleemee

Van Landingham, Mrs. John ..... Charlotte
Vann, Miss Mary H. ..... Raleigh
Vann, Rev. R. T. ..... Raleigh
Van Noppen, C. L. ..... Greensboro
Varser, L. R. ..... Lumberton
Vass, W. W. ..... Raleigh

Wachovia Historical Society ..... Winston-Salem
Walker, N. W. ..... Chapel Hill
Walker, Judge Platt D. ..... Raleigh
Ward, D. L. ..... New Bern
Ward, Miss Jane ..... Raleigh
Washburn, A. H. ..... Charlotte
Watt, W. W. ..... Durham
Watt, Mrs. W. W. ..... Durham
Watts, George W. ..... Durham
Weil, Miss Gertrude ..... Goldsboro
Weil, Henry ..... Goldsboro
Weil, Sol ..... Goldsboro
Whitlock, Mrs. I. P. ..... Mt. Airy
White, Miss Julia S. ..... Guilford College
Whitsett, Dr. W. T. ..... Whitsett
Willard, M. S. ..... Wilmington
Williams, R. R. ..... Asheville
Williams, S. E. ..... Lexington
Williamson, W. H. ..... Raleigh
Wills, J. Norman ..... Greensboro
Wilson, Dr. H. V. ..... Chapel Hill

lson, Dr. Louis R.....Chapel Hill
nborne, B. B.....Murfreesboro
nfree, Mrs. J. M.....Raleigh
inston, Hon. Francis D.....Windsor
inston, Dr. George T.....Asheville
inston, Hon. R. W.....Raleigh
isler, J. H.....Moncure
ithers, W. A.....W. Raleigh
omble, Miss Ada V.....Raleigh
ood, Frank .....Edenton
ood, J. G.....Edenton
ood, W. P.....Raleigh
oodard, F. A.....Wilson
oodard, Mrs. F. A.....Wilson
oodard, Dr. C. A.....Durham
right, James M.....Laurinburg
right, Robt. H.....Greenville

oung, Hon. J. R.....Raleigh
oung, Miss S. E.....Raleigh

Total, 476.